

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

JAMES W. JOHNSON, CONTRIBUTING EDITOR.

EX-ATTORNEY GENERAL WICKERSHAM TO OUR DEFENSE.

Last week the Southern Society of New York gave its twenty-ninth annual dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria. Now the Southern Society has other purposes besides that of dining annually and listening to speeches extolling Southern chivalry and heroism at the expense of those virtues as possessed by people in other sections of the country. It has serious purposes, and one of them is to keep the New York Negro in his place. This organization has for years carried on a systematic propaganda of fomenting and spreading prejudice against colored people in this city.

By using its influence to secure places for Southern writers on the great dailies here, it at one time threatened to turn almost the whole New York press bitterly against us. For a while it published an anti-Negro pamphlet which was distributed in the seats of the theatres; its members have made it a business to register an objection to the presence of Negroes in hotels, restaurants and places of amusement, and in various other ways it has striven to keep alive a prejudice which would naturally subside in a city so cosmopolitan as New York. Of course, there are fair-minded, generous people who belong to the Southern Society, who are affiliated with it for purely social purposes, but that, in no way, effects these aims of the organization.

At these annual dinners it is a settled custom to have some speaker from the South, who runs the whole gamut of sub-tropical oratory. This year it was the Honorable Skelton Williams, United States Comptroller of Currency. Among other things he said:

"All other issues have appeared to us light and negligible when white supremacy was threatened. Happily such fears are now no more to be regarded than as a frightful dream. Our constitutional convention in the different States have so limited and safeguarded the right of suffrage in an effort to secure an enlightened electorate, that Negro rule has ceased to be a menace.

"Long ago we determined that the Negro should never be our master; that we would work with him and help him and let him help and work with us, but that, as a social and political equal, the best interests of both races and of the country demanded stern, final and definite prohibition. The dignity, welfare and prosperity of the two races and of the entire country are and will be promoted by the policy of strict segregation."

Ex-Attorney General Wickersham was present and spoke. In the course of his speech he addressed the following remarks to the Comptroller; read them carefully:

"I do not believe that this problem will ever be solved by the total disfranchisement for all time of 10,000,000 of our citizens. No people can thrive and advance if, side by side and working with them, are 10,000,000 who are disfranchised from all voice in government.

"God knows that this is a difficult problem and God

knows it will be solved, but it cannot be solved by denying to any, be he black or yellow or red, the right of a voice in making the laws by which he shall be governed and in the choice of the men who shall govern him."

"Believe me, this problem is not solved by the method you offer."

Mr. Williams is not a Southern rough neck. He does not belong to the class that would lead a lynching bee. He is a gentleman of education, wealth and refinement. He is, in fact, one of the bluest blooded of Virginia aristocrats, and might well be said to represent what is highest and best in Southern thought.

What then is the deeper meaning of these words coming from him? The meaning is none other than this, that it is the avowed purpose and determination of the Southern people, regardless of what a negligible minority among them may think, to force the Negro in this country into a permanently secondary civil and political status. That is the thing we have got to face, and that is the thing we have got to fight. Any other song they may sing to us is a mere lullaby. Are we prepared or preparing to meet this inevitable struggle or are we going to drop into that recognized and accepted secondary place?

As Mr. Williams' words sound the note of Southern sentiment of to-day, so do Mr. Wickersham's words seem to belong to a past generation. At this time, when so many of those who are our best friends are scarcely more than mitigators, his words ring out with truth and courage like those of Garrison, Phillips and Sumner.

And Mr. Wickersham deserves to rank in our regard along with the fearless, outspoken men who fought our cause in the years gone by; fought it because they knew in doing so they were fighting the battle of justice and human rights. Nor is this the first time he has spoken and taken action in our behalf. We have not forgotten the stand which he took with William H. Lewis against the American Bar Association.

We are indeed fortunate in having a man of Mr. Wickersham's calibre as a friend. He has not only a high and broad sense of human rights, but he has the moral courage to express what he thinks. And let no one think it did not require fine fearlessness to say what he did as a guest of the Southern Society of New York.

In this connection we again have occasion to express our thanks to the New York "World." It was the only paper in New York which came to our attention that gave a full account of the parts of these two speeches which touched on the Negro.

It appears that the "World" has taken a stand for us even in advance of our old and staunch friend, "The Evening Post."

In this column we reproduce a strong editorial from the "Globe" on Mr. Wickersham's speech. The "Globe" has several times recently spoken out in behalf of our rights.

The most surprising incident in this whole affair is, according to the reports, that Mr. Williams' speech was received in silence while he members of the society several times interrupted Mr. Wickersham with applause.

Perhaps with a few more men like the Ex-Attorney General to address them at their annual dinners, even the Southern Society of New York may be brought to see the light.

NASHVILLE BANNER AND THE COLORED VOTER.

In an editorial headed "Negro in Politics" the Nashville Banner in its issue of Wednesday, complains of the small number of votes Governor Hooper received in several wards. In this article the editor of the Banner seeks to show that the Negroes were responsible for the Rye majorities in these wards. But the Negro does not think it fair that the Banner should cry "nigger" every time an election is held that does not go to the liking of the Banner and its publisher.

"In the Fourth Ward," says a prominent Nashville Negro, "one of the wards mentioned by the Banner, it is true Governor Hooper only received 20 votes. I was at this place all day. About forty Negroes voted there. Eight of these Negroes, at least, voted for Governor Hooper. About 120 whites voted. Twelve of these whites (estimated) voted for Gov. Hooper. Thus it will be seen that more Negroes in proportion voted for Gov. Hooper than whites.

"Had Gov. Hooper received all of these forty Negro votes the Banner would not have objected. I am also a voter in this ward, and think, act and vote as my own conscience dictates. I voted for Gov. Hooper two years ago, and voted for Gen. Rye Tuesday. I voted against the publisher of the Banner for one reason that many Negroes did. This publisher was working against Hilary Howse and Albert Hill. The Negro knows who his friends are. He knows who fought for the free text book. He also knows what this everlasting cry of bringing the Negro back into politics is made for.

"The Negro votes as the white man votes, for all parties."—Tennessean and American, Nov. 5, 1914.

NO INDICATION THAT DISTRICT WILL BE GIVEN VOTE IS SEEN

If Ballot Should Be Restored
Negro Population Would Be
Doubled in Less Than

Three Years
Advertiser
1-12-14
RIVER AND HARBOR BILL IS
TO BE OPENED THIS SESSION

Measure May Not Carry as

Large Aggregate Appropriations as Demanded

BY ALFRED J. STOFER.

Special to The Advertiser.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11.—Certain people have been agitating the question of restoring the right of franchise to the people of the District of Columbia, but there is no indication that Congress will hearken to the appeals which have been made. The right to vote was taken away from residents of the District as far back as 1871, and the report made by the Senate and House committees was unanimous.

The main contention of the advocates of a restoration of this privilege is that the District of Columbia should have a Representative in Congress who would be in a position to look after the interests of the property owners and taxpayers property. They have simply been howling for the ballot, and have brought forward the argument that taxation without representation is against the spirit of American institutions. There are 435 members of the House who vote for or against bills. A fine show one lone man from Washington would have to influence legislation in a body of that sort.

One Third Negroes.

Approximately one-third of the people of the District of Columbia as shown by the census reports, are of the negro or "colored" race. Well posted men know that the negro population of the capital city of the nation is much larger than that. A considerable portion of the negroes have no fixed place of abode, and especially is this true of the idle, vicious class, who keep constantly on the move from one locality to another to dodge the police who are compelled to be after them constantly on account of violations of the law. There is also a more orderly and respectable class of negro men and women who have migratory habits—they work in Washington for several months, and then go to the states, and come and go something like birds.

A few nights ago the Associated Press sent out to the country an account of a big negro meeting at which a preacher named Ross advised the men and women of his race to stop buying musical instruments and attending places of amusement and urged them to invest in guns and ammunition in order to be ready for a movement to rise up and insist upon the rights of the negro. It seems that many negroes, encouraged by speeches and writings of certain white men and women have an idea that since the Republican party has been put out of power that they are to lose every sort of right they possess, and the main reason for the present protest is that they believe this administration is herding the negroes off to themselves in the government departments.

Would Double Population.

If Congress should ever restore the ballot in the District of Columbia in less than three years thereafter it is safe to predict that the negro population here would more than double, and it might possibly be trebled. They would come to Washington from nearly all portions of the country, and particularly from the Southern states in which the franchise has been restricted so that the ignorant blacks

cannot vote. The more ignorant in the states could be depended upon to swoop down on Washington in droves. They are so thick here now that many even disposed to work cannot find employment, and conditions would be worse if they thought they could vote. But there is no danger of their ever getting the opportunity. Even the average Republican in Congress would unite with Democrats in killing any movement looking to the restoration of the right to vote in the District of Columbia.

The general understanding is Congress will pass this session a river and harbor bill. The measure may not carry as large aggregate appropriations as are demanded, but the Democratic leaders are disposed to take care of the important waterway projects in the various sections, and next winter can better determine the question of expenditures, for by another year it will be known definitely what revenues are to be expected under the new tariff law. In the person of Hon. George W. Taylor of the First District Alabama has on the House Rivers and Harbors committee an experienced and able representative who will amply look out for the interests of his State and section. This big and important bill is prepared by the House committee, and when it gets over to the Senate it is referred to the Commerce committee of which Senator Bankhead of Alabama is an influential member. That was Mr. Bankhead's chief line of work for many years also during his ten terms of service in the House.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Eagle

OCT 29 1914

COLORED VOTERS

HAVE BIG MEETING

Lincoln Republican Club I

Addressed by Assist. Dist

Atty. McDougald and W. I

Houston.

MUCH ENTHUSIASM

Never was there a more enthusiastic meeting of the Lincoln Republican Club than that held on Wednesday evening in the home of the Ros Leaf Lodge I. O. O. F. on Catharin Street when the majority of the colored voters of the city packed the hall and listened to rousing addresses by Cornelius W. McDougald, one of Charles S. Whitman's assistant in the district attorney's office, Mr. Whitman's recognition of the colored man, and to William L. Houston of Washington, D. C., a colored attorney.

Mr. McDougald knows Mr. Whit

man from intimate association and when he told the solid rock foundation upon which Mr. Whitman had founded the district attorney's office of New York, Mr. Whitman's untiring efforts and final success in having the practice of the police beating negroes when arrested, abolished, and of Mr. Whitman's constant recognition of the rights of the colored man, the crowd cheered loudly and made plain on which side of the fence they stood. Another victory for the emancipation of the colored citizens, of the New York state, which Mr. McDougald pointed out, Mr. Whitman had accomplished was the protecting of the colored man's legal rights against discrimination in public places such as theatres, hotels and eating houses.

When Mr. Houston took the platform he pointed out that on his visit here two years ago he had predicted what would befall the nation if a Democratic president and governor got in power. "And" said Mr. Houston, "I stand here tonight and without a falter point out to you that my prediction of two years ago has become a horrible reality in the present stringency throughout the country and the Democratic party's own admission of inefficiency of their candidates in the impeachment of William Sulzer. But I rejoice that we now have a man for election to the Governor's seat at Albany who is fearless and who can't be impeached. I know you people here will rejoice that we have a man like Charles S. Whitman, who has recognized the black man and I know for that reason that you will feel a little more secure, a little more confident and a great deal more sure of the future if you place Charles S. Whitman, a man who has records back of him of the highest principles and policies and of unwavering loyalty to the colored people in the governor's seat."

As the speakers addressed the crowd, it was evident that from the concrete facts of the performances in the past of the Republican party they were adopting safe policies and supporting the plain every day equal rights Republican party rather than the dream like policies of the Democratic party which as one of the crowd said seemed this year to be "founded on quicksand."

Mr. Houston pointed out the policies of the Democratic party in Washington, which as soon as it came into power two years ago, removed from office every representative which the Republican party had placed on equal civil rights with the white man in the President's cabinet and in public offices. These offices were given, Mr. Houston said to Southern Democrats of the white race, although the negroes, many of them had been, sensibly, supported by civil service.

The speaker pointed out that Democratic rule was pushing the negro farther and further into obscurity and that it would only be by the support

in the north of the Republicans that the negro throughout the country would be emancipated.

GOOD WORK BY 4TH WARD CLUB OF ENGLEWOOD

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.

ENGLEWOOD, N. J., Nov. 1.—Largely through the splendid work of the Fourth Ward Republican Club, of which Charles B. Hinton, the recently elected county committeeman, is chairman and leader, the Republican ticket made a practical sweep of Bergen County. Dr. John D. Prince of Columbia University has been elected as a Congressman, defeating A. C. Hart, Democrat.

For Assemblyman, the Republicans made a clean sweep, electing the three members from the county, Jason R. Elliott, Reed Howell and W. W. Wilsey. For Freeholders, W. Irving Glover and J. Catfield, Republicans, received a handsome majority in the Fourth Ward, which enabled them to overcome an adverse vote in other wards, and elected them by a comfortable plurality.

For the position of constable, Frank M. Burnett, a Negro Republican, received practically the solid vote of the Fourth Ward, being elected by a majority of nearly 150.

Final Rally A Big Meeting.

The final rally of the Fourth Ward Club was held at the Odd Fellows' Hall, corner Englewood avenue and William street, Monday night, November 2, when a beefsteak dinner was served to friends and members. The hall was packed, probably three hundred men being present. J. C. Campbell, president of the Negro Civic League, presided, and the men were addressed by nearly every Republican candidate on the Republican ticket. Prof. John D. Prince, the candidate for Congress, was one of the first speakers, and he received a rousing reception. Among the other speakers during the evening were Jason Elliott, candidate for the Assembly from Bergen County; W. Irving Glover, candidate for Freeholder from the Fourth Ward, who was warmly welcomed and whose reference to a permanent club house for the Fourth Ward Club aroused great enthusiasm; J. Catfield, Freeholder; Mr. Ryan, Lucien H. White of THE NEW YORK AGE; Dr. W. F. Willoughby, secretary of the Negro Civic League; the Rev. Mr. Van Pelt, pastor Zion Church, and a number of others.

The Negro Civic League was instrumental in cementing and welding the vote of the Fourth Ward, which for the first time in eleven years became a factor

in the Republican victory. There are 237 enrolled voters in the membership of the club, all residents of the Fourth Ward, with approximately 50 white Republicans, out of a total of about 345 votes in the ward. The election of Chas. B. Hinton as county committeeman at the primaries signalized the first election of a Negro to an office in that ward. Frank Burnett, on Tuesday,

day, was elected constable by a larger majority than any other candidate on the ticket.

The beefsteak dinner on Monday night was a great success. There was an ample supply of solids and liquids, and the men enjoyed themselves until a late hour. The dinner was prepared under the supervision of A. J. Wright, one of the leading workers of the ward. A feature of the program was the presentation to Prof. John D. Prince of a large portrait of himself made by a crippled Negro artist, Christopher C. Grant of Englewood. Grant has been crippled for several months, but is devoting much time in an effort to develop his talent as an artist.

Officers of the Negro Civic League are J. C. Campbell, president; L. S. Pierce, vice-president; Dr. William F. Willoughby, secretary; Chas. B. Hinton, recording secretary and treasurer; the Rev. Mr. Roberts, chaplain; Arch Jackson, sergeant-at-arms.

In the First Ward Harry H. Laws has been serving for the past year as constable, filling an unexpired term. His services have been so satisfactory that in the election on Tuesday he had no opposition, receiving the unanimous vote of his ward for the three years' term.



CHARLES B. HINTON
County Committeeman, Bergen Co., N.J.

OCT 24 1914

TIME3-

Herald
Akron Man to Speak

E. F. Bank of Akron, O., one of the best known colored orators in Ohio will address the Lorain Republican club Tuesday night. The place of the meeting will be announced Monday. Bank was the orator who delivered the address at the recent Emancipation Day celebration in Luna Park, Cleveland, in which 5,000 people participated.

AGILITY OF MIND.

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont was speaking at the Conference of Southern Women Suffragists a few days ago, and was asked what she thought of giving the vote to Negro women. Mrs. Belmont replied that the problem was one for the South to solve in its own wisdom and knowledge (same old mushy talk some Northerners continue to hand to Southerners), and that for her part she only insisted that the rights of the Negro woman should be the same as those of the Negro man. One of the morning papers treats this reply editorially, and heads the article "Agility of Mind Saved Her."

We do not contradict the assertion that Mrs. Belmont showed agility of mind. She quite nimbly leaped to the conclusion that since the Negro man in the South was practically deprived of his vote it would be safe for her to insist that the Negro woman be given the same rights.

However, it is not likely that Mrs. Belmont's feat was anything astonishing to her Southern listeners. She may not have realized it, but she was in the land of agile minds. For the last sixty years the Negro question has kept Southern minds so much on the leap that now they are the finest leapers, benders and twistors in the world.

The average Southern mind will to-day seek to justify any making of bad laws, any circumvention of good laws, any denial of justice, any wrong or oppression that is against the Negro.

Of course there are fair-minded white people in the South who are not mental leapers, but they do not make Southern opinion, nor do they, in any appreciable degree, influence it.

Mrs. Belmont will, perhaps, learn that in dealing with the constitutional rights of citizens, mere agility of mind is not the right mental quality. At any rate, it seems that it would be well for the Equal Suffrage folks to stand on a square and level platform of equality before the law for all citizens.

Intelligent colored women have as much right to the vote as intelligent white women. If ignorant white women are to be allowed to vote, then ignorant colored women should have the same privilege. If there are to be any qualifications, they should apply to all alike.

The only true way to solve any great question like this is by the rules of justice and right. Any other method gives a false answer.

J. W. J.

PEOPLE OF NEW ENGLAND ASKED TO LEAD ANOTHER AGITATION FOR FREEDOM IN U.S.

By New England Suffrage League at 11th Annual Meeting in Worcester, Mass. — U. S. Government Asked to Enforce Suffrage Amendments Since Colored Citizens are Asked to Go to War—Colored Voters Urged to Vote for True Men and Not go by Party Name—Manning Makes Great Speech and His Work is Endorsed by League.

The Guardian 11/17/14.
NOTABLE ADDRESSES OF WELCOME BY COL. ROE AND ATTY. JOHNSON, WHITE FRIENDS, BY REV. BECK AND MISS WILSON. ELOQUENT RESPONSES BY E. E. BROWN, MRS. GIBSON, E. P. OLIVER, REV. WITTEN, REV. WALLER REV. DAVIS—WM. D. BRIGHAM ADVISES DELEGATES TO TAKE AN INTEREST AND REPUDIATE COWARDLY LEADERS.—CONVENTION A GREAT SUCCESS.

NEGRO'S RIGHTS AT ISSUE

GROUP OF VITAL CASES BEFORE U. S. SUPREME COURT.

"Grandfather Clauses" to Be Passed
Upon by Court of Final Resort—
May a Black Man Defend His
Home Against a White?—Peonage
and Cemetery Cases.

[Special Correspondence of The Evening Post.]

WASHINGTON, October 12.—The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States during the term which began to-day will be fraught with more importance to the negro than probably any other in a quarter of a century. During the coming eight-months' session of the court, the country will be given the last word under existing legislation as to "grandfather clause" provisions, and as to other methods of depriving negroes of the ballot. During the term, the country will know of the success or failure of various more or less ingenious means to degrade the negro from a position of equality with the white man, not only in the Southland, but in the North as well.

The "grandfather clause" method of restricting the right of the negro to vote has been the most popular of all the late attempts of the South to nullify the guarantee of the right to vote contained in the fifteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution. In short, persons are barred from voting if their grandfathers were not eligible to vote in their day.

The Oklahoma wording of this "clause" is generally typical of those adopted in other States, and it is one of those before the court for consideration. It provides a reading and writing qualification for voting in the State, but excepts from

its operation those who were eligible to vote in 1866, or whose ancestors were eligible to vote in any State in the Union or any foreign country in that year.

It is admitted by the State of Oklahoma that it is seeking to restrict the negro vote within its domain, acknowledging it has taken pains to avoid the force of the fifteenth amendment. It maintains that the fifteenth amendment simply prohibits a State from denying or abridging the right of a citizen to vote on account of race or color. The State contends that its law does not deny or abridge the right of the negro to vote, but merely discriminates against him by allowing white men to vote without certain qualifications. It points out that there is a world of difference between denial of a right and a discrimination against a person.

The Oklahoma case was argued before the court last year, and a decision is expected early in the term.

FEDERAL COURT REJECTED THIS ONE.

The Maryland "grandfather clause" case arises out of the latest attempt in that State to restrict the negro vote. The Maryland Legislature passed a law fixing the qualification for registration of voters in Annapolis, intending to pass similar laws for other divisions of the State if the Annapolis law be upheld. In addition to a property qualification, the Annapolis law limited registration to all citizens who, prior to January 1, 1868, were entitled to vote in Maryland or other States and the lawful male descendants of any person who, prior to that date, were entitled to vote. The distinguishing point in the case is whether the Fifteenth Amendment applies to municipal elections as well as to elections at which members of Congress, Senators, or Presidential electors are being chosen.

The Federal courts in Maryland held the Annapolis law invalid. They awarded three negroes who were denied an opportunity to register \$250 damages each from the two Democratic registers who had charge of the registration books.

Probably the most novel method of seeking to remove the negro as a factor at the polls was resorted to in Oklahoma in the 1910 Congressional election. Members of the County Board of Election in Blaine County were charged in an indictment by the Federal Government with arbitrarily throwing out the entire vote for Congressman in certain precincts. In those precincts, it is said, the negro vote largely predominated. The Federal Dis-

trict Court sustained the point that the Fifteenth Amendment merely guarantees the right to vote, but does not guarantee the right to have the votes counted, and, hence, no offence had been committed against Federal authority. The Government has appealed the case to the Supreme Court, where it was argued last term. An early decision is expected.

AN OKLAHOMA "JIM CROW" LAW.

The validity of the most far-reaching Jim Crow law ever passed will be determined in the Oklahoma case, brought by E. P. McCabe and several other negroes against the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railway Company and other railroad companies to test the validity of the law. The law not only requires separate waiting-rooms and car service for negroes engaged in travel within the State, but also for negroes making interstate journeys in Oklahoma.

The State defends its action on the ground that the act was designed to preserve peace and order, and this is just as necessary on an interstate journey as on an intrastate one. The Oklahoma courts upheld the validity of the law, despite the fact that it does not require sleeping-car facilities to be furnished to negroes barred from sleeping-cars provided for the whites. They declared this was not a substantial discrimination, because there was no demand among negroes for sleeping-car accommodations, which would justify separate sleeping-cars for them.

ALABAMA PEONAGE CASE.

In one of the first cases argued to the court, the Federal Government will seek to strike down a form of alleged peonage to which blacks in Alabama are being subjected by plantation owners with the aid of the local courts.

The case is one in which Ed Rivers, a negro in Monroe County, figures. He was convicted of petit larceny, fined \$15, and taxed \$43.75 in costs. But he was not sent to jail, or sent out to work on the roads. The local court applied a local statute to Rivers.

This statute of Alabama provides that a person who is willing to become sponsor for a convicted person may confess judgment, pay the fine and costs, and enter into a contract with the convict, with the approval of the court, for the convict to work out the fine and costs paid by the sponsor.

J. A. Reynolds, a planter, appeared as sponsor for Rivers at first and entered into a contract whereby Rivers was to work for him nine months and twenty-four days at \$6 a month to reimburse him. Rivers is said to have quit before his time was out, and was convicted for quitting. This time G. W. Broughton appeared as his sponsor, and Rivers contracted to work out his fine of one cent and his costs of \$87.05 by laboring for Broughton for fourteen months and fifteen days. Both planters were indicted,

and when the indictments were set aside by the Federal District Court in Southern Alabama, the Federal Government appealed to the Supreme Court.

MAY A NEGRO DEFEND HIS HOME?

From Texas comes a case of the court in which a negro sets up a claim to the "unwritten law" on an equality with the white man. It is the case in which Carl Oliver was convicted of having murdered a white man whom he found in the company of his wife.

Oliver claims that the court which tried him erred in not instructing the jury that under the laws of Texas and the United States a negro is entitled to the same rights or protection as to the defending of the honor of his house as a white man would be in the same circumstances. Oliver also claims that there was an unlawful discrimination in the selection of the grand jury which indicted him in that negroes were not eligible for selection.

But the South alone is not to be free from charges of race prejudices and race discrimination against the negro. The city of Chicago is to come in for its share.

John B. Gaskill, a negro of Chicago, is to make a last attempt to force the Forest Hill Cemetery Company to permit him to bury his wife, who died in 1912, alongside his children interred within the cemetery. From 1890 to 1896, the Gaskills buried four children in the Forest Hill cemetery. Then in 1907, the cemetery officials adopted a resolution barring the bodies of colored persons, who owned no lots in the cemetery, from burial therein.

Gaskill has fought through all the Illinois courts for an order to require the cemetery to allow him to bury his wife's body there, but to no avail. In reply to his argument that the cemetery was moved by race prejudice, the courts have said that the cemetery company was not a public corporation, and need not serve the public equally.

GREAT EMANCIPATOR

Joseph C. Manning's Defense of the Negro—A True Blue.

Boston, Mass., Nov. 16.—With the definite object in view of getting clearly in the public intelligence of the whole nation the facts about political conditions in the South, as they effect all the people of the South, and the entire nation, Hon. Joseph C. Manning is working from Boston as a center of influence.

In speaking of his mission, Mr. Manning said: "I hold that disfranchisement in the South has created a subject citizen condition. I maintain that had the ballot not been taken from colored men in the South that they would have, by the exercise of

political rights, warded off jim-crowism and the like. All of this is a consequence of the subject citizen station to which colored are shamefully relegated. To uphold the false political conditions in the South anti-Negro propaganda has been pressed South and North by the Southern democracy. This has been the cause of the growth of color prejudice in the North.

"I appears to me that the Republican party will come back into power in 1916 and it is up to the friends of human justice to so arouse the nation to this issue, from the proper angle, that it will have the right punch to it when it does get into power again.

"This is why I am speaking and writing, from this point, on this subject of the political rights of American citizens in the South. We wish to force the issue into national political discussion and do it intelligently. It would seem that this question must be solved by the Republican party, which is the only national party, and which is going to be right on this issue or it will be the fault of those who realize that public sentiment is behind the throne and yet fail to work to make the right sort of sentiment."

Colored Citizens In and Around Birmingham—Register.

The following dates should find the registrars busy with the vast number of colored citizens who are entitled to register. Nothing should prevent our men of intelligence from applying to be registered. The Negro should not lose his interest and pride in the ballot which is the sceptre of the individual citizen in a republic.

The very desire to exercise the ballot indicates a certain degree of qualification for the ballot. Then, every Negro citizen should at least see if he is qualified under the requirements for registration. There are many of our good representative intelligent citizens who are not registered. They should come forward and lead out in this important phase of our civilization.

No colored citizen who possesses the qualification should fail to register and be ready to cast a ballot.

Take note of the following dates upon which the board of registrars will be in and around Birmingham:

August 31; East Lake, September 1; Avondale, September 2; North Birmingham, September 3; Vanderbilt, September 4; Wylam, September 5; Ensley, September 7; Jonesboro, September 8; Bessemer, September 9; West End fire department, September 10; Pratt City, September 11; Court House, September 12 to 19; Court House, September 21 to 26; general registration, September 28 to October 3, at court house.

DEMANDS VOTE FOR THE NEGRO

William E. Chandler Points to Long Defiance of Constitution by South.

[Special Dispatch to The Herald.]

CONCORD, N. H., Nov. 11.—Former Senator William E. Chandler, in an open letter to the editor of the New York Tribune commenting on the recent election, says:

"The wonderful World puts up against the Tribune a sad and solemn fact in connection with the magnificent gains made by the Republican party on the third day of November.

"The taunt and ridicule of the World are very grievous to me and ought to be to all Republicans, for it is true that they are justified by an existing condition which must be changed if the Republican victories of 1914 are to be followed by a complete and effective repudiation of Wilson in 1916, through the election as President of the coming brave Republican candidate, Gov. Whitman of New York.

"The World glories in its assertion that the Democrats will be perfectly contented in 1916 if they have a majority of 30 in the House, 15 in the Senate and a majority of approximately 45 in the electoral college.

"But it omits to superadd the fact that this result is only possible by reason of the prolonged defiance by the solid South of the 15th amendment of the Constitution, which gives the colored people the right of voting and directs Congress to enforce the right by appropriate legislation.

"This condition of the suffrage and the Republican attitude toward it will deprive the Republican party of any hope of carrying the Presidential election of 1916 unless the Constitution of the United States can be enforced as the national honor requires."

CREWS AND THE BAND WAGON.

The Plaindealer laments the defeat of Governor Hodges and regrets that so many people in Kansas still think they are voting for Lincoln. Well, the people in Dixie are still voting for Jeff Davis, and of the two we take Lincoln. The Negroes will find that in the end the party of Grant and Lincoln, which

delivered them in the past, will take care of them in the future."—Kansas City Sun.

Perhaps things would have been different had Bro. Crews thought thus when he bolted President Taft two years ago for Theodore Roosevelt, and then too, after Mr. Roosevelt had told a delegation of Negroes who attempted to enter his convention at Chicago that they need not apply, for they were not wanted. There's many a gink knocked under the wheels attempting to board the band wagon where the victors are comfortably seated on their return from the field of conflict, and we wonder if Crews secured a seat or are the wheels passing over his misguided form that brings forth this wail of pity? "Rescue the Perishing."

Providence, R. I.

TRIBUNE

The Election and Negro Voters.

To the Editor of The Sunday Tribune:

Now that the political arena has been thoroughly stirred up and at least for the next two years we shall have the chance to forget politics and its affiliations, yet we have a right even this late day to analyze some of the peculiar results of the recent election.

It was a great surprise that with twelve live issues at stake and in favor of the Republican party that they did not capture more victories within this city a State. Everything pointed their way and so the question may be asked why did they not seize their opportunities? We did not the Hon. Roswell B. Burchard receive the endorsement and suffrage enough voters to succeed the Hon. M. O'Shaunessy as the Congressman from the First Congressional District of the State?

The answers to the above questions are plain and as long as the present methods of the machine manipulation are fostered and not changed just long will defeat stare the Republican forces and candidates in their faces. Mr. Burchard, as well as Mr. Parks, left much of their responsibilities within the hands and domains of the State Central Republican Committee or the part of which select and nominate candidates for the various State offices, called the executive committee.

It is a well known fact that had the Hon. R. L. Beekman and other successful candidates on the Republican ticket relied solely upon the energies exerted by the officials of the State Central Committee they, too, would now be classed simply as private citizens instead of having dignified honors conferred upon them by being elected to official positions within the gift of the State. Mr. Beekman et al. did splendid outside work

independent of the State Central Republican Committee, which work did much towards electing him and others through all the efforts exerted by the political forces at Butler Exchange or anywhere within that vicinity.

Contrary to the general expectation the Governor-elect realized that without the negro vote it was useless to try to be elected, for the colored voters in the city and State were much divided along many lines and had manifested themselves by no small means in recent elections that the best class of politicians had already classed them as an uncertain political quantity. This year there were no exceptions and colored Democrats plus colored Progressives and independent colored Republicans as well as the color "regulars," appeared upon the political horizon, each battling for their various beliefs and political doctrines. To gain the suffrages of these various factions was an accomplishment of no small means and Mr. Beekman and his followers had to work outside of the committee headed by Mr. Burlingame, for while the latter was approached simply showing his head and said "nothing doing." In other words he, Mr. Burlingame, was working in the same old stereotyped way and rut as other Chairmen of the Republican State Central Committee have with the like results, probably figuring that the colored voter could not or he not the right to change his political beliefs. Mr. Burlingame and his followers should realize that the Civil War and its results are over, and that the negro is now living on deeds of the past, but that his political salvation rests at the present time and in the future era, while no other political party has now a lifelong claim upon him.

Slade Bill Killed

Atlanta, July 22.—The House to-day promptly killed a bill by Slade and others of Muscogee to prescribe additional qualifications for voters. The measure provided that no man should be allowed to vote unless his character was such that he could "be trusted with a virtuous woman without fear of criminal assault in any and all secluded places even when not protected." The House after a brief debate disagreed to the favorable report of the committee by a vote of 108 to 16, the effect of which is to kill the bill.

Constitution 6-21-14

THE CONSTITUTION, ATLANTA, GA., SUNDAY, JUNE 21, 1914.

MRS. LAMAR SETS FORTH REASONS FOR THE FORMATION OF LEAGUE TO OPPOSE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN GEORGIA

A great deal has been published pertaining to the subject of equal suffrage for women. The Constitution has exploited the subject in various departments of the paper. The subject involves a question; this question has its two distinct sides, the one governing woman's suffrage, the other opposing. There are now a number of women's organizations in Georgia for the promotion of the cause of woman's suffrage, but so far only one organized for the specific purpose of opposing woman's suffrage, that one organized recently in Macon, Ga. The Constitution presents today an article by Mrs. Walter Douglas Lamar, who is a member of the association in Macon opposing woman suffrage, and who clearly sets forth the reasons why she believes woman's suffrage should be opposed.

SOME REASONS FOR THE FORMATION OF THE GEORGIA ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

By Mrs. Walter Douglass Lamar.

Three men entered a restaurant for breakfast. One said to the negro waiter, "I want ham and fried eggs." The second: "Bring me bacon and scrambled eggs." The third said, "I want lamb chops and I want the eggs eliminated." The waiter disappeared to return in a few minutes with the report, "Can't give 'em to yo', boss, 'cause de 'liminator done broke."

Mrs. Medill McCormick, Miss Jane Addams, Anna Shaw and other heritors to Susan B. Anthony's slogan, "Suffrage regardless of sex or color," have sat at the suffrage table and have called since 1869 that they would break their fast by enactment of a federal law forcing equal suffrage on all states. Perceiving the unpopularity of this order in the political kitchen, a second set of suffrage advocates ask for national suffrage, through the Shafroth resolution (of which more anon) as a subtle forerunner of federal supervision. The third guest at this suffrage table is now heard: "I want suffrage with the negro vote eliminated." Back from the powers that be comes the message, "Your federal law advocate has broken the eliminator." In other words, state sovereignty alone could have guaranteed state control of elections and the elimination of undesirables. This fable, however, does not refer to the majority of the women of our section

WOMAN'S SUPERIORITY.

Woman has been entrenched for many years upon a platform of superiority. Her vision has been kept clean and clear, her hands unfettered of fear, unhampered of favor, her heart throbbing for her own and the great human family; she has through her very independence of politics accomplished great things for her people. Figures in states where equal suffrage obtains show that votes of women have not helped in the great civic and moral problems of the day; that there has been a notable loss to the prohibition forces, lamentable indifference to the use of the vote, and the venal side of woman, hitherto undiscovered, has appeared.

More than a million women were represented at the biennial at Chicago. They have concerned themselves with

able to secure prohibition in a suffrage state, and the Michigan Equal Suffrage association issued the following disclaimer: "Our association has no connection with the Woman's Christian Temperance union. The temperance issue has nothing to do with woman's suffrage."

The nation-wide movements for safeguarding of women and children, the removal of inequalities in wage, besides to special favors to woman workers, the betterment of labor conditions, have as strong average activities in the male suffrage states as in the equal suffrage states.

Neither Colorado nor any other suffrage state prohibits night labor for women, yet there are sixteen male suffrage states where such labor is prohibited or restricted. New York and Texas, Ohio, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, Wisconsin and other male suffrage states have enacted excellent laws against the evils that advocates of suffrage claim votes for women will promptly remedy—record of equal suffrage states to the contrary.

Dr. Anna Shaw, president National Suffrage association, sweepingly characterizes those who oppose suffrage as protectors of liquor interests, food dopers, child labor exploiters, "white slavers and political bosses." Alas, that evil exists, but joy be that there are women so intent on the business of being a woman that through them many of those ills are lessened and much of the wickedness of the race is prevented by foul ends. Through personal service without wage, by moral influence and intelligent advice women are doing what votes for women have neither prevented nor ameliorated. The character and life work of leading anti-suffragists refute the gentle charge of Dr. Anna Shaw that anti-suffragists are "vultures looking for carrion" and that furthermore, with an amusing mixing of metaphors, they serve "by holding out their skirts as screens for the liquor traffic, the gambler, the vicious, and those interested in dance halls," etc.

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT.

Should the amendment to the constitution of the state providing for regulating the franchise and asking that a "votes for women" amendment be passed by the legislature, such action would be futile in the face of the proposed amendment to the federal constitution.

State's rights is no new nor restricted creed. It was claimed for Massachusetts in 1811; it was the ground upon which the Hartford convention of 1814 withdrew New England from the union and it was again claimed by Massachusetts in 1844, and it is the basis upon which state associations opposed to equal suffrage are already fighting federal supervision of elections in sixteen states. State sovereignty had been recognized as one of the salient features of the now much battered constitution of our fathers and had been taught in the military academy at West Point from a book entitled, "Rawles' View of the Constitution," in use from 1825 to 1840. Leading men of north and south who were West Pointers were both taught from this textbook, yet those of the north yielded to the potent influence of William Lloyd Garrison, who answered the claim that "the constitution guaranteed to the states all rights not expressly delegated thereby to the federal government," by burning a copy of the constitution and crying aloud, "Down with the constitution, it is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Such the spirit, such the creed now animating the advocates of the Bristow-Mondell-Shafroth propositions.

THE VOTING POWER.

In the south 2,000,000 colored women would be added to the voting power of the section. Is there any doubt as to the party with which the majority of these will affiliate?

In Georgia nearly two-thirds of the labor employed in our industrial institutions is composed of women and children. Many of these would have the same qualifications displayed by those from a certain factory in a murder case in Atlanta who testified first one way and then another. Does

Georgia need that quality of voters added to her list? Because some men have not measured up to the status of true citizenship should we add more voters of that type to qualify the claims of equal suffrage?

In a statement touching the inadvisability of amending the constitution by reason of ratification by thirty-six states, before the congressional judiciary committee, Miss Bronson testified in behalf of opposition to equal suffrage as follows:

"Wyoming, with its 145,000 inhabitants, would counterbalance New York, with its 10,000,000. Idaho would counterbalance Massachusetts."

In New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, where this question of woman suffrage would double the electorate, the cost of which is of great concern to those commonwealths, would be counterbalanced by Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, whose combined population is about equal to that of Connecticut with an area considerably less than a single county in any of the four. Nine states, including the eastern industrial states I have mentioned and the three states of Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin, where within the past eighteen months woman suffrage has been defeated with majorities approaching 100,000, each contain a greater population than any sixty-six states of the union, if we exclude the states which have disfranchised an electorate which was forced upon them by an act identical with that proposed in this bill. Our greatest president, although a friend of that enfranchised race, was opposed to that amendment, for he more than any of his associates foresaw the result. His friendship for the colored man was not doubted, yet he opposed this fifteenth amendment because he foresaw the result."

THE RACIAL ISSUE.

The friction between the two races of the south was brought about by that amendment of the constitution which gave the right of suffrage to all males of prescribed age, regardless of color, race or previous condition of servitude. The effort to enforce this amendment in the south brought on those bitter days of reconstruction and

aided in the virtual nullifying of that amendment, where white voters of states so directed.

The Lodge force bill of some years ago advocated federal supervision of our voting precincts; this, too, state sovereignty prevented. The Bristow-Mondell amendment, pushed by women would force equal suffrage at cost of state rights, would enlarge the power of congress in controlling and regulating elections, regardless of states, thus vitalizing the fifteenth amendment, an inevitable result according to Georgia representatives in congress.

Alarmed at the possibilities southern suffragists have undertaken to organize for the purpose of holding the matter within state jurisdiction. To appease them the advocates of federal control have secured the services of a "progressive democrat" from Colorado, Shafroth by name, who has cleverly worked his villainous intent to secure

federal control of states by proposing that when 8 per cent of the votes of a state shall petition for an election, such a petition shall be granted according to a congressional ruling, this effort at securing such action on the part of the 8 per cent to be continued indefinitely until suffrage for women is secured; providing also that when thirty-six states shall ask thus others shall have no redress—state constitutions to be ignored, thus foisting upon the south the illiterate vote of a race with whom we cannot live on terms of political and social equality. By the adoption of this amendment, a state would surrender all her rights of self-protection. The party in power would control the polls. The southern man's appreciation of the necessity of white supremacy for the good of blacks and whites alike will reassert itself—and then will come the reign of might.

VIEWS OF GREAT SOUTHERNER.

A short while before the death of a great southerner—a man who had served his section as a brave confederate soldier, who for twenty years served a reunited nation in the halls of congress, a man whose poise and bravery were many times called on to settle difficulties in the dark days of reconstruction, he was asked if "The Leopard's Spots" gave a true picture of those days. "Yes," said he, "absolutely without exaggeration." The same provocation will produce like results. Then of a truth will a Frankenstein be born of these machinations that shall terrify its creator, shall crush alike the good and bad, shall endanger anew the foundations of peace, and with unwavering finger it shall cry, "Woman, thou thyself hast brought me forth!"

I take it that woman's capabilities and intelligence are not, by this issue, called in question; that the inspiration and activities of Joan of Arc are not doubted; that the abilities of Catherine of Russia, of Isabella of Spain, of Elizabeth and Victoria of England redound to the glory of the race because of their individual broadness as human agents, not because they were women. To push woman into further activities than those hitherto essential to the good of the state would involve her in the intricacies of feminism and militancy.

THE REAL SUPREMACY.

We are citizens of the republic; no efforts are being made to dislodge us from our supremacy, and it is our duty as such to continue our influence upon politics, upon the lives that touch ours, to make for magnanimity and purity by a determination on the part of each of us to count for something definite in the moulding of public opinion. It is our duty to study the socialistic problems of our country, resulting from graft and greed of the already rich, and having learned, to impress our views upon those about us, thus aiding of individual peace. At present every socialist is a suffragist. The socialist party is neither local nor national, but world-wide in its scope, therefore, we would know its creed, we would seek

friends, therein, to our viewpoint. The failure of suffrage to alleviate other ills may show that the woman shall help solve socialist problems far sooner than woman in man's sphere.

THE SOLID SOUTH.

It is the avowed intention of republicans and progressives to break the solid south. Through their suffrage allies they have sent to the women of the south bon-mots of sophistries and bouquets of sweet-sounding circulars. O woman of the south, look well into all these propositions and whence they come! Know the chessboard of politics, guard unto our people their queen, state sovereignty! To women who would follow the gleam of equal suffrage I say pause! ponder! If you have hitherto rocked along happy and secure, awake to the dangers that confront us. From the perturbed west come raiders in fashionable Parisian garments crying to our women of the south, "Arise, put down that tattered-demon of states' rights and mount the heights of full citizenship." To such people we shall say, "Avaunt! Upon the rock of state supremacy rests for our section the only safeguard against an evil which the foul fiend of carpetbaggery sought to fasten upon us. Reconstruction failed of that end; Lodge's force bill sought to accomplish the same degradation of the proud south; this Bristow-Mondell amendment advocated by the suffragists of the country and now sugar-coated with the Shafroth amendment, cannot deceive us. Our intelligence is equal to yours, our patriotism derived from the same revolutionary ancestors, our claim that the constitution be upheld is stronger than anything you can substitute." Let not the woman of property and the

civics, economics and all questions contributing to public welfare. For instance, during the month of April, 1913, the "starve-the-fly" campaign went forward in every state by common consent.

THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENT.

In the winter months, nearly every state federation was busy with legislation desired for women and children; minimum wage boards, widows' pensions and eight-hour laws for women workers might be mentioned as the most important measures. It is said that club women get any legislation that they really want.

Now that summer approaches, the use of public playgrounds is promoted, children's gardens are supervised, public parks are looked after, the police woman is in request.

All the year an agitation for pure food is carried on.

"Unity in diversity" surely expresses the club woman movement. There is the greatest diversity of method and yet a certain unity of purpose is easily discernible.

THEIR FUNCTIONS.

These women have come to fill a good many civic functions, which really belong to city or state officials, but they manage the difficult problem of co-operation with considerable tact. The official may look askance at first,

but he soon comes to bless those who work with him for public welfare, without salary, and with no desire for the spoils of office.

Women in the club movement are most friendly to all other organizations of women. They co-operate and join with them, not at all fearful lest their thunder should be stolen. In fact, they realize there is so much to be done that there is room for everybody—nay, more—that the vineyard continually calls for more laborers.

At the recent biennial there was a general review of the work accomplished in the various departments. It must not be forgotten that there are national departments of civics and health, conservation, education, fine arts, home economics, industrial and social conditions, legislation and civil service reform, literature and reciprocity and press. All of these have their national scope of work with many variations, according to state and locality.

The biennial has been chiefly valuable because of the opportunity for an exchange of ideas between women who come from every section of the country. Next to that, is the advantage of hearing the work of other associations of women set forth by able representatives. Then, too, experts on education, civics and all other important public topics, are glad to appear before this gathering of intelligent and earnest women seeking their co-operation and full understanding.

On equal suffrage the general federation has been silent, holding that women can best work out that problem in separate organizations. It welcomes the suffragist and anti-suffragist equally. It encourages political study and urges the appointment of women on prison boards and all state boards. I question, therefore, the advisability of the recent action of the federation in admitting suffrage as an issue.

It would be difficult to sum up in a paragraph the essential values of the club movement. It may be said, however, that it takes woman from an indifferent or self-centered attitude and shows her the need of her services for the community of which she is a part. Association with other women in clubs is bound to bring a certain breadth and tolerance and dependability of character.

That infringement of state sovereignty has acquired no new argument by consideration of what has been accomplished for the public weal in states having suffrage may be illustrated by a few facts.

THE PLEA OF SUFFRAGE.

We are told my suffrage advocates that all good things desired by all good people shall come of equal suffrage. In Oregon and California the eight-hour law for women workers was passed before women were given the vote, thus illustrating with renewed clearness the "power of indirect influence." Ten states have prohibition and nine have full suffrage, one partial suffrage. Of this number, Kansas alone is both prohibition and suffrage, its prohibition laws antedating its suffrage. Prohibition organizations indorse suffrage in many instances, yet they have not been

This government of ours is a republic. It is ruled not by King, but by the sovereign citizen. It is by the ballot the sovereign American citizen governs. Those who have and who exercise the ballot are, therefore, our only sovereign authority. Those of our citizens without the ballot are no more than subject citizens. A subject citizen in our government is no more than a subject citizen in any other government.

It is through the ballot that the sovereign citizen exercises his kingly right in correcting abuses and upholding justice. Without the ballot injustice and wrong growing out of harmful conditions can not be adjusted, and the citizen without the ballot must suffer that continued aggression that is always the necessity of a false position on the part of those who can use the ballot and who can govern by the ballot.

The importance of the ballot, the vital importance of the sovereignty of the citizen, is just as important as is the crown to the king and the sceptre to the ruler. Without the ballot in the United States one is but a subject citizen; only that and no more. In this condition one must bear the hardships that come to subject citizens everywhere.

JOSEPH C. MANNING.

VOTES FOR NEGROES.

Democrats Are Urged to Allow One Vote to Each.

To the Editor of The State:

I have been a reader and subscriber of your much read paper for more than 15 years, and as the old sister said about serving de Lord, and am not tired yet, so I beg space for a few remarks of vital importance that directly concerns more than 60,000 taxpayers of South Carolina, whose interest is linked and interwoven with the more than 265,000 other citizens, who are empowered with the right to vote, while the 65,000 stand debarred of that privilege. Now, Mr. Editor, all fair-minded men will admit that the ballot in the hands of an ignorant negro is damaging to the commonwealth in which it is exercised. It is very unfortunate that the negro blocks the way for a clean ballot in South Carolina; unwittingly so, he blocks the pathway of the Southern white woman to the ballot box. Of all Anglo-Saxon self-governing commonwealths, the Southern States constitute the only section where women are wholly denied the right to

vote, where not a breath of sentiment seems stirring in that direction. In Australia, New Zealand and several of the Northwestern States of the United States women have the full right of suffrage. In some of our Northern and Eastern States they have the suffrage to a limited extent, while in England they enjoy the right to vote in all elections, save those involving seats in parliament, and there are powerful influences at work to remove this one limitation. In some of the provinces of Russia there are female members of the legislative bodies. In the sections of the world named the woman's suffrage movement has come forward upon the broad plea of the membership of women in the human family, holding that said membership constituted them the equals in point of rights of all other members. So the ruling element of our white friends in the South has closed his ears to the same plea made in behalf of the negro. So I hope our Democratic leaders will so arrange their convention that all negro Democrats who can conform to the rules of the election laws as made by the last constitution of South Carolina shall be allowed one vote.

W. A. Smith.

TRUTH OF THE MATTER.

Helpless Without the Ballot.

The voice of the Machine politics, the motive to uphold the political system of minority government in the states of the South is the moving cause which prompts and perpetuates the activity of those politicians in the South whose chief political capital is attack upon the colored people. Crying out against the colored race serves to divert thought from actual problems and puts the submerged and suppressed class of white people of the South in an attitude of acquiescence to wrongs they suffer.

The white man without the ballot is as helpless to right political wrongs as is the colored man without the ballot. Any citizen, white or colored, who is not a voter, who is not a sovereign citizen with the ballot, is simply a subject citizen and the masses of whites in the South who are governed by minority government have been reduced to this political condition more by and through this agitation of the so-called Negro question than for any other one thing.

What is most needed to be done in the South is to awaken all the citizens of the South to the power and the obligation of sovereign citizenship and to cause false issues and political appeal that is based upon prejudice and actuated by sinister purpose to be thrust aside by a thoughtful and independent voting citizenship. It is ridiculous that such a condition should obtain in Alabama, for in-

stance, that 60,000 ballots for a candidate for Governor in a Democratic primary should determine a political result in a great State having, in round numbers, about 300,000 white male citizens and about 200,000 colored male citizens of voting age. It is this anti-Negro agitation on the part of machine politicians that has, in most part, brought about this situation to which no good citizen may point with pride and which does not carry with it, in any sense, government of, for and by the people.

The best government is to be obtained by causing every citizen to feel that it is his government and that he is a part of it, and responsible for it. This is the best method of the uplift of the citizenship and the uplift of government. These are reasons sufficient for the advocacy of ballot rights and for the exercise of the ballot by every citizen.

JOSEPH C. MANNING.

business woman heed the new version of "forty acres and a mule." Taxes are regulated by constitutional rulings. Wages are only affected by action of labor unions in conjunction with capital. By securing the ballot wage-earning women will not equalize their wages with men's. By securing the vote the woman of property does not direct the affairs of the town or state.

MISLEADING TERMS.

That many wise sayings are distorted to foolish ends can be no better illustrated than in the fatuous use of the phrase, "No taxation without representation," as an argument that all those who pay taxes should have the ballot. Neither legal knowledge nor historical research is needed to prove that this refers to commonwealths and not to the individual citizen. Even if taxes were the price of the ballot, property owners are not restricted to desirable voters.

The increased expenses of elections would further delay and perhaps lessen the pay of our school teachers. Poll tax, street tax, jury exemption are not gifts to the voter, and the increased electorate would heavily drain the inadequately increased treasury. The fast looming possibilities of government ownership of public utilities would give the party in power the right to install in dominant positions persons suited to its way of thinking, regardless of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Few there be so archaic as to believe that the act of voting will injure woman's refinement or morality under any circumstances; that is a matter of individuality.

A great author, on the subject of woman's aid in the war between the states, has said: "By the side of every soldier there marched invisible a woman soldier." Was not her power for good the greater because she was invisible? Would not her physical presence have hampered the march? And so also in the march of progress, the duties, powers and joys of the "woman invisible" shall continue to elevate the standards, to train the youth, to bless the good and to maintain her unquestioned supremacy.

Truth of The Matter
The Citizen's Real Power is
the Ballot.



MRS. WALTER DOUGLAS LAMAR, Of Macon, Ga., who is a leading spirit in the Georgia Woman's association, opposed to woman's suffrage.

SENATOR W. E. BORAH

The Bee Washington
Addresses a Large Audience

at Howard Theatre

5-5-14
THE TAU DELTA SIGMA

Fraternity—Big Meeting at Howard Theater Sunday, April 26.

The Tau Delta Sigma Fraternity of Howard University Law School gave the citizens of Washington an unusual treat on Sunday, April 26, at Howard Theater. The program was as follows:

Residing Officer—Judge Robert H. Terrell, District Municipal Court.

Overture—Orchestra.

Invocation—Rev. F. I. A. Bennett, pastor Calvary P. E. Church.

Foreword—Robert B. Crumpler, president of Fraternity.

"Battle Hymn of the Republic" (Audience join in)—Orchestra.

Introduction of Speaker—Hon. Arthur A. Birney, former U. S. District Attorney.

Address—Hon. Wm. E. Borah, U. S. Senator from Idaho.

"Star Spangled Banner"—Orchestra.

Benediction—Rev. F. I. A. Bennett.

Music by the Howard University.

Orchestra—H. B. Wallace, Director.

All of the speakers and the orchestra received hearty applause. The public showed their appreciation of the effort of these law students by their presence, their silver offering, their attentive interest, and their great ovation to the principal speaker of the afternoon. Judge Robert H. Terrell presided.

The address of Mr. Robert B. Crumpler, president of the Fraternity, was an intelligent and timely foreword to the students, the race and the country, so ably did he present in the brief time allotted him the foreword of what the Negro seeks and demands in this country, that it called from Senator Borah a tribute, referring to him as the "brilliant young speaker who preceded me," and a quotation from his address that the achievement of our purpose is not a question of fifty years, but fifty times fifty years. Hon. Arthur A. Birney of the Faculty in a most pleasing and entertaining address introduced Senator Borah, who was given a wholesome cheer and college applauds. Senator Borah addressed the assembly on the subject of the progress of the Negro in fifty years, reading a prepared statement of compiled statistics showing what the Negro had accomplished since his emancipation. The Senator made mention of statements he had made on the floor of the Senate, that the Negro had made more progress in fifty years than any other race in such a time. No one can successfully contradict this statement. "I show from the figures that I have presented to you that I was correct. I also stated that you were a patriotic people, defenders of your country and the flag—not unmakers of the system of our great American institutions. There are some few men today who believe the fathers of our Government did not properly prepare this great nation for its future and they believe they must remake it; but I believe that Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and all the founders of this republic, together with Abraham Lincoln, founded and established a republic the political science of which cannot be bettered by mankind. I know that in the various industrial and economic questions

there must be changes and an adaptation to conditions as exist, but the fundamental principle of a government for the people, of the people, cannot be changed. You have proved by the facts I have stated your capacity for citizenship—the work you have done in educational lines, which the power of government, the protection of the home, the character that makes for good citizenship, that not only your leading men, but the great masses of your people are interested in securing the advantages of the schools that will make you a factor

in this government. I will not discourage a young man of your race who has the courage to take up the great profession of law or study the ministry to be a teacher, but I want to impress upon you that what you want to do is to get a firm hold on the industrial features of this land. Buy land, get a home and keep it; never sell it unless you get more than it is worth. Your devotion to this country is significant; you have had a part in all of the struggles of war from the American Revolution, having fought for the people who enslaved you—working in the day tilling the soil, feeding the soldiers of the army who were fighting for a continuation of slavery, at night laying across the door to protect the women of the men who were at war. I notice that in the research I have made I find no Negro men manufacturing or distilling liquor. If I had my way I would put in the penitentiary for life a man who establishes or sells liquor in a colored community. He makes and sells to your people the stuff that destroys your reason, and many crimes that are charged against your people are the result of this hellish, fiendish liquor that you purchase. You can beat him at his game by not buying it, and not receiving him in the society of your people, young man. If I or any other white man commits a crime, I or the other man is held responsible for the same; but if one of your people commit a crime it is charged to your whole race. Now, starting in life, remember that your acts are for your mother, sister, wife, and children and they suffer for your deeds. I believe, as I stated on the floor of the Senate, that the Fifteenth Amendment is a farce because it has never been enforced; it is a fraud practiced upon the Negro. A promise made and not kept is worthless. If the issue of the rights of the Negro to the ballot is ever openly presented to the Congress I shall be found on the side of the Negro. I want to say to you, have self-reliance, learn to trust yourself, ascertain what is right, act and vote according to what you believe is for your best interest. I would like to have you all vote the Republican ticket, but I would rather see you vote the Democratic ticket than have to make you vote the Republican ticket, because somebody makes you do so; but I don't see how you can vote the Democratic ticket. Sections should have

nothing to do with this question; every man, north or south, should have the right to vote."

When Senator Borah finished the audience of more than 1,500 persons standing waved their handkerchiefs and cheers for five minutes. Judge Terrell asked for a Chautauqua salute, which was heartily given. The students of Howard gave their yell and handclap ending with Borah, "Borah is all right." It was truly a big event for the Tau Delta Sigma Fraternity.

The members of the Fraternity are: James B. Morris, James M. Stockett, Robert B. Crumpler, Thomas H. Reid, Chester H. Crumpler, David C. Coleman, Lemuel A. Wilson, F. Morris Murray, David Wells, Mortimer Harris, Josiah T. Settle, Chas. E. Lane, Geo. H. Murray, Samuel Z. C. Westerfield, T. B. Smith, Walter L. Davis, Andrew Jackson, Jackson L. Davis, Jas. H. Richardson, Frederick J. Hamilton, Abram Venable; Judge Robert H. Terrell, Frater in Facultate



SENATOR WM. E. BORAH

of Idaho

Before the Tau Delta Sigma Fraternity at the

HOWARD THEATER, SUNDAY, APRIL 30TH.

THE QUESTION OF SUFFRAGE.

The Richmond Planet
The fight for Woman Suffrage was not successful last week in the United States Senate. The vote to submit to the States a constitutional amendment to the Constitution of the United States, permitting women to vote was lost by a vote of 35 ayes and 34 noes. It required a two-thirds vote of the membership of the Senate to secure favorable action upon the resolution. This meant the affirmative vote of 64 senators.

It will be seen then that the Wo-

man Suffragists had 29 votes less than the number needed. Senator Vardaman of Mississippi did not lose the opportunity to emphasize his hostility to the colored people of the country. He offered an amendment to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment. This amendment was offered for the purpose of disfranchising the colored people of the United States.

The vote on Senator Vardaman's amendment was rejected by a vote of 48 to 19. The Senators voting in favor of repealing the Fifteenth Amendment included Senator Martin and Senator Swanson of Virginia. Their names are:

Bryan, Florida; Gore, Oklahoma; James, Kentucky; Lea, Tennessee; Lee, Maryland; Martin Virginia; Myers, Montana; Overman, North Carolina; Ransdell, Louisiana; Reed, Missouri; Sheppard, Texas; Shields, Tennessee; Smith, Georgia; Smith South Carolina; Swanson, Virginia; Tillman, South Carolina; Vardaman, Mississippi; West, Georgia; Williams, Mississippi—19.

Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi offered a resolution providing that only white women be permitted to vote. It was lost by a vote of 44 to 21. This ended the contention. It brought into the limelight the race question and showed just how many United States Senators were ready and willing to wipe from the Constitution the practical results of the War between the States.

The colored folks may have a breathing spell for it has been demonstrated that with the Democratic Party in absolute control of the government, they are not able as yet to do positive injury to one of the kindest races of people on the face of the globe.

The announcement of the adoption by the necessary state conventions of the plan to change representation in Republican national conventions and reducing the southern delegates by 79, only records the fact long ago accomplished of the party's abandonment of the cause of the Negro.

Now, North Carolina and a number of the Southern Dioceses do not have any such class of Suffragan

But it may be answered that in providing for the erection of a Racial Missionary District, special provision might be made for excluding Negroes from representation in our Provincial Synod. But as this could not be done without consent of the General Con-

Washington, March 17.—After a vigorous defense of woman suffrage in the senate today, Senator Borah, of Idaho, shocked suffrage advocates on the floor and in the galleries by declaring it was impractical and impossible for women to obtain the vote by constitutional amendment. He predicted that after fifteen years of vain endeavor, women would renew their abandoned request before the people of the states, because in seeking an

ORGANIZE A SUFFRAGE LEAGUE AT PINE BLUFF
Special to The New York Age. 2-12-14.
PINE BLUFF, Ark., Feb. 10.—The Arkansas Negro Suffrage League was organized in this city Saturday. The meeting was the outcome of the Going Anti Liquor Law which prohibits

The colored citizens of the State
cast a solid vote for WHITMAN and
the straight Republican ticket. They
are to be complimented upon their
show of good judgment and their
intelligent appreciation of the is-
sues before the country in general,
and the race, in particular.

RETURN TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY!

Well Known Colored Citizens of Indiana who were Progressives in 1912, are now Active Republicans.

BEST CITIZENSHIP OF THE RACE REPRESENTED

State Chairman Hayes Accepts Offer of Services and Compliments Visitors—Mr. Tidrington Host at Dinner—Public Appeal to Colored Voters of State is Drafted.

The Freeman 10/17/14.
On September 24, a large delegation of the leading colored men of Indiana, including thirty gentlemen who had been very active in the Progressive movement in 1912, called at Republican state headquarters in the Hotel Severin, Indianapolis, and formally offered their services to Republican State Chairman Will H. Hays in the interest of the Republican party. Among the colored leaders were ministers, lawyers, physicians, business men and one band president. The spokesman was E. C. Tidrington, of Evansville, grand chancellor of the Indiana Colored Knights of Pythias and president of the colored Knights of Pythias Bank of Indianapolis. In an earnest address Mr. Tidrington pledged the active support of himself and associates to the Republican cause. At the close of the banquet that followed the visit to Republican state headquarters the following address to the colored voters of Indiana was drafted and passed:
To the Colored Voters of Indiana:

Remembering with gratitude that the Republican party, since the commencement of its organization, both in state and nation, has always been the true friend of the colored race; and remembering that the Democratic party, in both state and nation, has always in every way discriminated against the colored citizens of this republic, disfranchising them and removing them from public offices to which all classes of citizens should be eligible, without distinction or discrimination, and realizing that no real friendship for our race can exist in the Progressive party which in Texas has adopted in its platform the declaration that "The Progressive party shall be officered, managed and controlled by whites exclusively."

Now we, the undersigned, colored voters of Indiana who in 1912, for reasons which seemed sufficient to us at the time, voted other tickets, but which reasons have now been removed, do now declare that we will earnestly and heartily support the ticket of the Republican party, national, state and county, and advise all true friends and well wishers of the colored people to aid us in the election of the candidates for the various offices, national, state and county, nominated by the Republican party, the true friend of the colored race and the party which will bring prosperity again to this country.

Ernest G. Tidrington, Evansville, Ind.; Cam L. Upthegrove, Connersville, Ind.; Harry N. Hill, South Bend, Ind.; James Stewart, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Dennis A. Bethea, M.D., Terre Haute, Ind.; E. B. Cheatham, Indianapolis, Ind.; Ed. S. Gaillard, Indianapolis, Ind.; John Tyler, Princeton, Ind.; Lorenzo Woods, Princeton, Ind.; R. A. Williams, Indianapolis, Ind.; M. M. Curry, Fort

Wayne, Ind.; C. Lee Smythe, Boonville, Ind.; Waltz W. Loving, Boonville, Ind.; Kenneth Givens, Mt. Vernon, Ind.; Frank Boyd, Mt. Vernon, Ind.; C. D. Smith, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dr. C. A. Martin, Muncie, Ind.; Rev. B. Stone, Noblesville, Ind.; David Jones, Jeffersonville, Ind.; Edmund E. Gaddie, M.D., New Albany, Ind.; H. P. Parker, Indianapolis, Ind.; Bob Richard, Jeffersonville, Ind.; John O. B. Wooten, Anderson, Ind.; F. M. Anderson, Terre Haute, Ind.; C. H. Elliott, South Bend, Ind.; W. A. Jackson, Kokomo, Ind.; Ira Roberts, Kokomo, Ind.; Rev. J. F. Broiles, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dr. W. T. Thomas, Marion, Ind.

Indianapolis, Ind., September 24, 1914.
SHOULD COLORED WOMEN BE SUFFRAGETTES?

This is not an article against Woman Suffrage. It is written only to make clear and discriminate the dissipation of energy and ability by the women of our race in the cause of Woman Suffrage. We are glad to see the chivalrous and vindictive efforts of which they are capable, but the end of our goddess would be acquired only if those efforts were directed toward the welfare of one and all of the race.

Our rising thinkers haven't time to oppose "Negro Woman Suffrage," they are engaged in the solution of a problem of far greater importance, vital to every Negro inhabitant in this country,—the problem of social and political freedom.

If, instead of increasing our troubles, instead of piling sexual controversy on race prejudice and its many derivations, instead of diverging herself from the general interests of the people, the Colored woman would unite with her brother in an attempt to obliterate race discrimination, she would not only advance the race nearer towards equality of opportunities with other races, but with less friction, would be conceded the rights which she now claims.

For the cause of the whole the nation unites into one. For the cause of classes and individuals it separates into parties. Such are indispensable obligations for the welfare of a race.

Except in exemption from danger, man first is the eternal law of nature. A woman marries a man, takes his name, and strives earnestly to connect with it honor and dignity. After she succeeds, society says: "The honorable Mr. Jones and wife." Thus is woman qualified through man even though she be the founder and maker of that man.

Now comes the logical fact. Since man is first, since woman is qualified through man, it necessarily follows that the male of a people is the first to receive political recognition. If the male be ineligible, the woman is ineligible, and therefore the race is ineligible.

The first step to be taken by our race is to show that Colored men are capable of political activities. To do this well, they must unite—man and woman must unite.

The world was not made in a day. It took the white race years of evolution to lay down the present foundation of social and political civilization. The whites are leaders in politics and civilization, but white women universally are not given the vote. The question arises "Will Colored women be given the vote? The answer most likely is, "Yes."

But here is the important question: What good will the vote contribute her? To vote the election of executors, the approval or disapproval of bills, and other similar privileges, are the beginning and ending of a Colored woman's vote. She will get for her real and personal interests all that she can find in these privileges

and no more. The question of equal suffrage, in this case, is entirely foreign.

When Pope said: "Be not the first on whom the new is tried," he was thinking of self-preservation. What a good maxim to be adopted by "an inferior race" as we are often quoted!

To the Colored woman who is advocating Woman Suffrage I say: You are in the right direction, but in the wrong road. Like a wayward traveler stop, look around you, turn back. Advocate for your race. Unite with your men. Get into the right road. When your efforts are thus directed, many birds will be killed with one stone.

The Negro race has made remarkable progress since its freedom; but progress is limited. Though poor originators, we are excellent imitators. That this is true in America, a country of great and wonderful accomplishments, makes the fact all the

more laudable.

I once saw a sign on the wall of a printing office reading: "Complete your job before starting another." This system helped printers to work faster and avoid errors. The system is applicable not only in a printing office, but throughout the active world.

There are scores of jobs we shall start in future, but to advance faster, to avoid errors we must complete our job. We must keep our minds concentrated on the words "progress of race." At last when the height of our ambition in one line is reached, start another line, but not before. Complete your job.

You ask: When shall the height of our present ambition be reached?

I answer: When the ten millions of our people are represented, at least in Congress; when our men and our women can vote for individuals from among ourselves, individuals who have the interests of the race plugged into their hearts, who would advocate our rights even at the sacrifice of their lives.

CYRIL F. G. BUTLER.

NEW YORK WORLD

10 December 1914

SOUTHERNERS LAUD WICKERSHAM FOR DEFENSE OF NEGRO

Ex-Attorney General, at Society's Dinner, Takes Issue With John Skelton Williams on Race Segregation.

CONGRESSMAN SHERLEY TELLS OF WAR STRENGTH. Fortifications So Good They Will Never Be Tested—Submarines Outclass Germans.

Dividing its attention between sharply contrasting opinions of the negro problem and the question of national defense, the Southern Society of New York held its twenty-ninth annual dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria last night.

Chief among the guests was one who had not been expected, Miss Mary Lee, daughter of Robert E. Lee, who came in the company of Mrs. C. E. Richmond, and was toasted as the "First Lady of the South."

John Skelton Williams, Comptroller of the Currency, brought up the race question by declaring in his address:

"All other issues have appeared to us light and negligible when white supremacy was threatened. Happily such fears are now no more to be regarded than as a frightful dream. Our constitutional conventions in the different States have so limited and safeguarded the right of suffrage in an effort to secure an enlightened electorate, that negro rule has ceased to be a menace.

Negro Can't Hope to Rule.

"Long ago we determined that the negro should never be our master; that we would work with him and help him and let him help and work with us, but that, as a social and political equal, the best interests of both races and of the country demanded stern, final and definite prohibition. The dignity, welfare and prosperity of the two races and of the entire country are and will be promoted by the policy of strict segregation."

Former Attorney-General George V. Wickersham took suave but pointed issue with this declaration.

"I do not believe," he said, "that this problem will ever be solved by the total disfranchisement for all time of 9,000,000 of our citizens. No people can thrive and advance if, side by side and working with them, are 9,000,000 who are disfranchised from a voice in government.

"God knows that this is a difficult problem and God knows how it will be solved, but it cannot be solved by denying to any, be he black or yellow or red, the right of a voice in making the laws by which he shall be governed and in the choice of the men who shall govern him."

Then turning toward the Comptroller, Mr. Wickersham concluded earnestly:

"Believe me, this problem is not solved by the method you offer."

It was notable that while Mr. Williams had been heard through without applause, Mr. Wickersham was twice interrupted by hand-clapping.

Measures Wilson by High Gauge.

Attorney General Thomas W. Gregory was the first speaker to be introduced by W. W. Fuller, President of the society and toastmaster. Mr. Gregory's one departure from badinage was when he referred to President Wilson as "measured by the yardstick of honest purpose and fearless manhood, the South has presented to the Nation nothing finer."

Representative Swagar Sherley, Kentucky, Chairman of the House Committee on Fortification, made the one long speech of the evening. He undertook to meet some of the questions that have been raised regarding the national defense. Declaring

that "we are in no true sense in defenseless condition," Mr. Sherle added:

"I make bold to say that we are so well fortified in the United States that our fortifications will never be put to the test. In other words, they are so formidable that no enemy having possession of the seas—a prerequisite to attack on our shores—would attempt to subdue them from the sea, but instead would seek to effect a landing outside their range and effect their capture from a land attack in the rear."

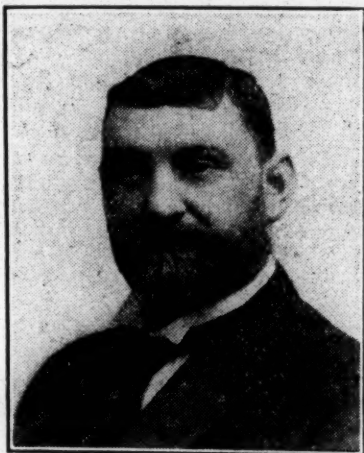
Admitting that only 75 per cent. of the ammunition required was in hand, and that permanent systems of fire control had been installed in only eight of the twenty-four fortifications, Mr. Sherley insisted that "as to mines we are very satisfactorily supplied." Then he continued:

Our Guns Not Outranged.

"The statement that an enemy's fleet could stand out of the range of the guns that defend New York and put them out of commission and place the city at its mercy without peril will not be supported by the authority of any military experts qualified to judge. It is true that some 15-inch naval guns have a range in excess of twelve miles—while the defense guns have an outside range of eight miles, and the mortars of eight and one-half miles; but it should be noted that there are probably not over two or three battleships now afloat with modern 15-inch guns."

"It is possible that we may approach in the near future a condition where it will be thought justifiable either to place some additional guns of 14 or 16 inch calibre at some of our fortifications and some of the most modern 12-inch mortars. It is possible that it may be thought desirable, by some change in the carriage of the guns, to increase their maximum elevation so as to very greatly increase the range, but I do not believe there is any responsible officer to-day who would advocate any radical change in the fortifications, either at New York or at any other of the principal points in the United States."

"It may also interest you to know that of the 36 submarines now owned by the United States 22 are larger, faster and more powerful than the German U-9, which was responsible for the sinking of the British Hawk. In its personnel, in its accuracy of gunfire, ship to ship, ours is not surpassed by the navy of any nation. It is well supplied with torpedoes, built and building."



John P. Collins is a plain, strong, straightforward man, who believes in absolute civil and political equality, as his record for years as School Director and State Senator, and as hundreds of colored men with whom he comes in frequent contact, testify. In Congress such a Democrat is worth more to us than unnumbered Republicans.

Fighting the "nigger-hater" by unanimously supporting the Republican party has proven a failure—stupidously deadly and incalculably costly to the American Negro, you had better change doctors than find the patient dead.

Excerpt from a letter written by Prof. Edward S. Williams, principal of the Banneker School, and formerly principal of the Attucks School, in reply to a request for his opinion of Mr. Collins as a School Director, supervising colored as well as white schools.

Mr. Williams, who is a Republican, is not a politician, but is absorbed in his life work of teaching.

"Mr. Collins, in my opinion, considered himself and acted as a School Director for the people, without regard to race, creed or politics. He was a friend of the schools for all the people."

The supporters of Mr. Collins safely

refer to Prof. David Gordon, another principal of the Attucks School, whom we have not even consulted, for like testimony is given by Prof. Williams. In office, John P. Collins ignores all questions of color.

Senator Collins and Jim Crow. To Whom It Interests:

In the Missouri General Assembly of 1903, some moss-back, following a common moss-back custom, introduced a bill to separate the races in railway cars; and such other moss-backs as found themselves in the two chambers of the Assembly got busy to make the act a law.

As has been the labor of the undersigned in such situation for many years, we both hastened to the capital to do what we could to save the state from disgrace and our race from the proposed proscription. When we reached Jefferson City, we found the measure already in its death throes. Hon. John P. Collins, representing the Thirty-first Senatorial District (a St. Louis district), who is an adept in legislative tactics, had hurried the bill to its third reading, and killed it beyond resuscitation with a speech which we were just in time to hear.

Senator Collins' defeat of the separate car bill of 1903 (however looked at by the race that is most concerned), is regarded by lawmakers of Missouri as an unmatched masterpiece of legislative strategy. Many Senators of the session here referred to gave brilliant service in killing the measure, but John P. Collins, of St. Louis, was the Marshal Ney of this Napoleonic victory.

Straightforward Letter From Senator Collins.

St. Louis, Mo., July 17, 1914.
Mr. Geo. B. Vashon, President St. Louis Democratic Club.

Dear Sir: Your letter of July 16th was duly received and contents carefully noted.

In reply, I beg to say that I am a white man, with all the pride and clan spirit of my race, and yet I have never felt that the dominion of the white race need outrage other races to maintain itself or to expand; rather do I feel that justice in law and practice are the bulwarks of its lasting power.

The Federal Constitution, including every amendment, is the basic law of the land, and its every provision should be rigidly enforced. Each inclination to violate it is an inclination to treason. Any opposition to it should bespeak repeal and not violation. For my part, I am for it as it stands to its last syllable.

Laws that touch liberties of citizens should be based on conduct, not on color.

These are my deep-seated, life-long convictions; and, in Congress or out, wherever I find myself, they shall govern my actions and utterances.

Respectfully,

JOHN P. COLLINS.

517 Walnut Street—ADV.

Buffalo, N.Y.

Express

JUL 7 1914

NOT MUCH OF AN ARGUMENT.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been encouraged of late by an apparent change in the editorial attitude of the Philadelphia Public Ledger toward the race for which it speaks. The association will be correspondingly depressed when it encounters these reactionary sentiments in the Ledger: "A number of states are opposed to woman suffrage, chiefly in the South, and to force it upon them by federal amendment would be as great an error as the unconditional enfranchisement of the negro is now recognized to have been. Much of the opposition to votes for women, even in states which have no negro problem, is based upon the ground of expediency. If there could be a limitation of suffrage to those capable of exercising it intelligently and with a sense of the responsibilities involved, much of the opposition to the women's cause would instantly disappear, but that opposition so far as it relates to present universal unrestricted voting is mainly based upon grounds analogous to that found in such states as Mississippi and South Carolina, where any proposal to compel the granting of unrestricted franchise to negro women by a constitutional change will be fought to the death."

This was said, of course, by way of comment on the recent visit to the White House of women seeking the President's support for an equal-suffrage amendment to the constitution of the United States. The Express has given good reasons why this question should be left to the states. The Ledger's is not a good reason. It has been advanced by some anti-suffragists and appears to have made an undue impression on some equally fatuous suffragists.

How could the votes of negro women be a menace to Southern civilization unless they were allowed to cast them, as negro men are not allowed to cast their votes? Or are the nullifiers afraid that white women would insist that, once enfranchised, black women should be allowed to cast their votes, as the white men of the North do not insist in the case of the disfranchised black men of the South? And how can anyone say what the effect of negro suffrage in South Carolina and Mississippi would be, since the present generation of negroes has never been allowed to vote in those states?

It is quite safe to say, though, that if

the blacks had the ballot, they would never elect Blease governor or Davis senator. They never did anything so mischievous as that in Reconstruction days.

Springfield, Mass Republican

De con

BEFORE NEGRO CIVIC LEAGUE.

ALDERMAN STACY IS SPEAKER

Gives Colored Voters Assurance That Those in Municipal Employ Will Be Retained.

Alderman Frank E. Stacy, the republican candidate for mayor, addressed the Negro civic league and the Brightwood improvement association last evening. Both meetings were largely attended. His address before the Brightwood association was of a nonpolitical nature and had to do mainly with the duties of the mayor and the powers of that office. In his address before the Negro civic league he repudiated the statements that he did not favor Negro employes in the city service. He condemned the story as one circulated during the caucus campaign for political effect.

In addressing the Negro civic league he said that the league was to be congratulated on the large attendance. It was his opinion that it gave evidence of an unusual interest in the civic life of the city. He continued by telling the members that he always enjoyed attending gatherings of citizens inasmuch as it gave every person a chance to exchange ideas. In political meetings where the city's business was a matter of discussion, it was proper that candidates for office should be present to give those present an opportunity to size up the men who were aspiring to public office.

Alderman Stacy declared that the present campaign is a peculiar one in that it was practically without issues. He said that both he and his opponent are the best of friends and that there is no quarrel between them. Personally he was appealing to the voters on the strength of his nine years' service in the city council. That service, he pointed out, was a matter of public record. There was one matter which he intended to straighten out, however, the story that went the rounds before the caucuses, to the effect that if he was elected he would discharge every Negro employe of the city. He condemned the story as one circulated for campaign purposes and said that it was without foundation of fact. He declared emphatically that if he was elected any colored person in the employ of the city would have no reason to feel any fear of removal as long as he performed his duties faithfully and efficiently.

Mr Stacy will address the ward 1 republican club this evening, as well as the ward 3 republican club. Kurt Sternberg will probably be the presiding officer at the ward 1 rally. The ward 3 rally will be held in the rooms of the republican city committee in the Court Square theater block.

ANOTHER CANARD.

We desire to call attention to a statement made in the Star of the 11th instant by Ernest T. Florence, of New Orleans, "a member of a special committee of the American Bar Association," with reference to woman suffrage in particular, and universal suffrage in general. Viewed from the standpoint of Southern diplomacy, it is complimentary to Mr. Florence, in that he comes out "in the open" and makes a clean breast of the real attitude of Southern whites upon the question. To be sure, the whole civilized world knows that he has juggled facts, as may have been expected from one of his profession and predilections. He expresses truly and frankly the position of the white South when he says: "The Southern states will never make voters of the Negro women." He probably told the truth there, and for very apparent reasons: the white South will never make voters of colored people, men or women. Indeed, it would require no prophet, "bird or devil," to make this pronouncement. "Coon-hunting," lynchings, burnings, prostitution, concubinage, tyranny, social ostracism, the rigid limitation of civil rights to so-called white persons; industrial robbery and legalized peonage—these are the unmistakable signs of Southern injustice, hate and inhospitality, upon which Mr. Florence predicates his audacious statement. But it may have occurred neither to Mr. Florence nor to his Southern sympathizers and collaborators, that "the South" is not now divinely appointed to take charge of the destinies of the universe; that the fact is that, measured by any approved standard of Christian civilization, indeed any respectable approximation to any kind of civilization which can boast of an acknowledged removal from actual barbarism, they constitute the only standing disgrace to the so-called "white race" in general; and that, therefore, it is not expected that, at this stage of their evolution, they could or would consider anybody but themselves, as fit for democratic government. But the South is really only a small part of this great country. The Southern people claim to be the only "true-blue blood," and therefore assume the right to dictate how the country shall stand upon social, political and material questions, albeit, they have subordinated the privilege and duty of taking the lead in religion, morals, philanthropy, industry and popular education, to the divine mission of raising "yaller niggers," and dictating terms of social equality. It has never occurred to these "mud-sills" that the North, by virtue of their victories of right over wrong, have earned the privilege and won the power of dictating as to what is best for the peace and prosperity of the country at large. And they have amended the Constitution of the United States. But, referring to the State constitutions which gave legal sanction to the "understanding" and "grandfather's" clauses in electoral legislation, Mr. Florence had the temerity to say, "But, do not understand that the educated colored man is deprived of the right of franchise. It is an educational and property qualification that disfranchises the Negro, but only the poor and ignorant one." Now, this is a false and grossly misleading statement. It will not hold water, analytically, or synthetically considered; it is the same old game of Southern diplomacy (as defined by Dickens), and blarney—the same old thread-bare game, long since exposed and exploded. Now, while it is admitted that the right of the elective franchise is constitutionally conditioned upon educational and property qualifications, no one knows better than Mr. Florence that these qualifications are practically nil when applied to the colored citizen. That gentleman has instanced Mississippi and Louisiana. As to the first, the State Constitution requires that "every elector shall be able to read any section of the Constitution, or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof." This is the so-called "understanding" clause, and the registration officers are given absolute powers of disqualification. In the

male person who was, on January 1, 1867, or any day prior thereto, entitled to vote," and "no son or grandson of any such person," shall be denied the right to register and vote by reason of his failure to possess the educational or property qualifications prescribed by this Constitution." The practical operation of both the "understanding," and "grandfather's" clauses, is the same, namely, to disfranchise colored citizens. Without going into detail, it is only necessary to refer to a statement of the acknowledged mouthpiece of the whites of Mississippi, for the motive which contemplated the disfranchisement of the colored people, as well as for its justification(?). Vardaman has said, "The Negro has the right. We admit the right, and we admit that we have taken it away by devices of our own." And Tillman said, "We've cheated the niggers, we've threatened them, we've murdered them—and now we're going to disfranchise them." Nor, have these dire, devilish and dastardly prophecies been unfulfilled, as may be seen from incontestable statistics. In Mississippi, in 1876, the colored vote was 52,705, while in 1898, it was but 3,573; in Louisiana when the elective franchise was untrammelled, the vote was 92,081, while in 1898, it was but 2,823. The illiteracy figures, as shown by the census of 1900 will bring out more clearly the effect of the clauses above referred to. For instance, in Louisiana, where the Negro vote was reduced, in one year over 92 per cent, and this, without taking into account at all the increase in population in twenty years, the percentage of illiteracy was only 61 per cent. In Mississippi, where the Negro vote, by administration of these laws, was reduced to 93 per cent, the per cent of illiteracy was only 49.1 per cent. And in South Carolina, where the Negro vote was reduced almost 97 per cent, the percentage of illiteracy among the blacks was only 52 per cent." This ratio of voting power to the population has been maintained to date, while the percentage of illiteracy has been considerably lowered. And yet Mr. Florence says that the effect of the law is not to disfranchise educated colored men, "but only the poor and ignorant one"!! The contention of Mr. Florence is so preposterous, so brazen and altogether out of harmony with the truth, that to pursue the subject further might seem a waste of time. Yet, when we come to realize how many there are engaged in spreading the venom of race-hatred and promulgating false social and political doctrines, and misrepresenting the operation of nefarious election laws and facts, relating to the colored people, we cannot but recall the warning words of John Stuart Mill, "Even if an opinion be indubitably true and undoubtedly believed, it will be a dead dogma, and not a living truth, if it be not fully, frequently and fearlessly discussed." The tyrant element at the South is persistently manufacturing and zealously peddling lies concerning our people; it is our duty to persist, with equal or greater virility, in telling the truth, and letting our Northern friends see that we believe that "eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty," that "who would be free, himself must strike the blow," and that we are not satisfied with,

"A bondman's peace, who sighs for all he's lost
Yet with smooth smile his tyrant can accost."

case of Louisiana, in addition to educational and property qualifications, here is the infamous "grandfather's clause," which provides that "no

Tuesday's Election

The result of Tuesday's municipal election somewhat changed the complexion of Norfolk's city government. A nominee of the Citizen's Party was elected to succeed an organization incumbent on the Board of Control. Fourteen nominees of the Citizens Party were elected to the

city council. The organization has an uncertain majority of one in both branches of the city council, which insures only such legislation as will benefit the greatest number of citizens. In Mr. Nottingham, a capable man was elected to the Board of Control. He defeated a splendid man, in the person of Mr. Pan-nill, who ran as an independent

Democrat. That he was defeated by a small majority with no organization behind him is a splendid compliment and attests the high regard in which he is held by the people.

The election fully demonstrated that the colored vote of the city is an appreciable factor in local elections, but entirely ineffective in the matter of insuring any benefits to the Negro property owners and taxpayers unless it is concentrated. With each succeeding election it becomes more and more apparent that the Negro vote is isolated here in the same manner the Italian, or other alien vote is isolated in some Northern cities. But the interests of the Italians, Irish and other nationalities are amply taken care of because their vote is organized and is used where it does the most good for their respective races.

The Negroes of Norfolk should continue to qualify and organize all over the city in such manner as they were organized in this election in the seventeenth precinct of Monroe Ward. A decent organization is the best safeguard against abuse or unwise use of the ballot. Ninety per cent, of the present Negro electorate is unpurchasable, and God forbid that conditions will ever again arise to confront Negro voters with the charges of selling or trading their ballots. But an effective organization, intelligently directed can secure from the city government of Norfolk more of what the Negro citizens are entitled to under the government than a disorganized and scattered vote no matter how large. And we should not lose sight of the inevitable fact that in this age of practical politics we will get no more from the city government nor from the state government than our votes are able to secure.

The Journal and Guide will welcome suggestions from citizens qualified to speak on the subject of organizing a city-wide voters league, and will be glad to publish these suggestions in our next issue.

COLORED VOTERS ATTENTION!

The Kansas City Sun
Where Does Your Candidate Stand on

the Race Question?

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has asked all the Democratic, Progressive and Republican candidates for the United States Senate and House of Representatives how they stand on the following:

Abrogation of the 14th and 15th Amendments,

Segregation in the Federal Service,
Segregation in the District of Columbia,

The Jim Crow Car in the District of Columbia,

Anti-Intermarriage laws,
Lynching,

Reduction of representation in the States that disfranchise the Negro,

Replies of the various candidates in Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma to these questions have been compiled and published on a large poster by the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We are sorry that lack of space prevents us from publishing this long list of replies concerning the stand of the candidates on the race question. We advise all of our readers to see these posters before casting your ballot. Let no one vote for a Senator or Representative unless you are sure of his position upon the race question.

WEST VIRGINIA POLITICS.

Republican State Convention Demands Enforcement of the War Amendments.

Charleston, W. Va.—Some of the most prominent colored men in this state were delegates to the Republican state convention, which recently met in this city. There were important matters affecting the colored voters of the state to be considered. It was, therefore, very fortunate for the race that it had such men as the Hon. L. O. Wilson of Weston, T. G. Nutter of Charleston, E. J. Graham, Jr., of Wheeling and William W. Sanders of Charleston to represent the colored voters of the state. The main stand which these men took on this occasion should serve as an example to our people in other states.

West Virginia was the first state to consider the recommendation of the Republican national committee, which in substance meant a reduction of the representation of the colored delegates from the south to the Republican national convention. Every colored delegate present realized the gravity of the situation, but most of them were puzzled as to what course they should pursue.

It was at Huntington that Delegate L. O. Wilson of Lewis county met Delegate E. J. Graham, Jr., of Ohio county, and from Huntington to Charleston their only topic was "What shall we do?" Upon reaching Charleston Messrs. Wilson and Graham went into conference with Delegate A. G. Nutter of Kanawha county and William W. Sanders, state librarian, with the result that the following resolution was adopted:

"The adoption of the recommendations of the Republican national committee by the Republican party of West Virginia in convention assembled is not to be construed as an endorsement of the election laws of the southern states unjustly disfranchising thousands of American citizens who in law and in equity are entitled to express their choice at the ballot box, and the Republican party of West Virginia in convention assembled hereby denounces said election laws as unjust and indefensible and demands that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the constitution of the United States be enforced and the southern states' congressional representation be based upon the actual voting strength under their election laws."

The Hon. Elliot Northcott offered a resolution to adopt the recommendation of the Republican national committee, cutting down the representation of the delegates from the south, which was seconded. It was at this juncture that Delegate Dr. L. O. Wilson secured the floor and in a masterly address offered an amendment in the form of the resolution above mentioned. The amendment was unanimously adopted. The same resolution having been referred to the committee on resolutions was reported favorably and made a part of the state platform of the Republican party.

REGISTRATION OF NEGROES

With Party Lines Closely
Drawn Republicans Are
Claiming Their Own.

TRENTON, Tenn., Oct. 10.—(Special).—The supplementary registration for the November election here clearly shows that efforts are being made to deliver the negro votes for the republican candidate. Heretofore there have been few negroes who would qualify to vote, but during the past three days by far the greatest registrations have been made by the colored folks. This can well be taken as an indication of what will be done over the entire county.

In the present campaign, with issues of the two great parties clear-cut and local questions settled, it appears that the republicans are now claiming their own in Gibson county.

SHORTRIDGE ENDORSED BY NEGRO CITIZENS

Resolution Praising Candidate Signed by
More Than 200

A demonstration meeting composed of representative negro citizens from around the bay was held Friday night at 715 Seventh street in the interest of furthering the candidacy of Samuel M. Shortridge for United States senator.

The meeting was called to order and presided over by Miss Myra Virginia Simmons, who was later elected president of the club.

After many warm speeches and acclamations by the Shortridge admirers a resolution was unanimously adopted praising the candidate.

200 SIGN RESOLUTION

The resolution was signed by the president and secretary of the club, Miss Myra V. Simmons and Mrs. J. W. Henderson and over two hundred others.

Whereas, Mr. Samuel M. Shortridge is an aspirant candidate for the Republican nomination for the office of United States Senator and his name will be presented to the Republican voters throughout the State, for their consideration and support at the primaries on August 25, 1914, and

Whereas, Mr. Samuel M. Shortridge has been a strong supporter of the Republican party for thirty years, has long identified himself with Progressive principles, and was a pioneer champion in the cause of woman suffrage in this State, and

Whereas, Mr. Shortridge is a duly accredited scholarly gentleman, one who has consistently maintained the highest standard of citizenship, is reckoned for his integrity and ability and noted as one of the foremost lawyers and orators of the Pacific coast, and

FRIEND OF NEGRO

Whereas, for numerous years he has been friendly toward the negro and has manifested a deep regard and esteem for the negro race, both in public and in private life that few

Caucasians have seen fit to do since the days of Lincoln, Garrison, Sumner and others of the old Abolitionist type, and

Whereas, we believe and are fully convinced that should Mr. Shortridge receive the Republican nomination at the August primaries and be elected finally at the November election to the high office to which he aspires, California could justly boast of having placed in the Halls of Congress a man of efficiency, of sterling ability, and a worthy representative of all her people.

SENSE OF LOYALTY

Resolved that we, the following undersigned citizens and voter residents of Alameda and San Francisco counties in recognition of the fitness and worth of the illustrious candidate whose name is herein written, and through a deep sense of loyalty and appreciation, superinduced by a desire to rally to his support at this momentous hour when assistance is so truly merited, do hereby form this nucleus and unanimously resolve ourselves into what shall be known as the "Combined Alameda and San Francisco Counties Afro American Samuel M. Shortridge Campaign Club."

Our purpose shall be to electioneer for Mr. Shortridge in the hope of making him the Republican choice for nomination for the office of United States Senator at the primaries on August 25 next, and should he be nominated work diligently for his

The Guardian 5-2-14 HITS ROOSEVELT ON COLOR AND HIS PROGRESSIVE PARTY

CHICAGO SUFFRAGIST TELLS PASTOR McELVEEN THAT IF ROOSEVELT HAD NO MORE COURAGE ON JAP ISSUE THAN ON COLORED DELEGATES IN HIS CONVENTION, HE WOULD DO NO GOOD—McELVEEN SAYS MONGOLIAN EXCLUSION IS ADOPTING CAST OF INDIA AND CHINA.

Chicago, Ill., April 20, 1914.—Discussion of the foreign policy of the United States in relation to Japan before the Current Events class of the Evanston First Congregational church came to a sudden halt yesterday when Rev. William T. McElveen, pastor of the church, declared that "If Col. Roosevelt had charge he would soon solve the problem of who shall be admitted to citizenship in the United States."

Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, who up to this point had been listening attentively to the address, jumped to her feet.

"If 'T. R.' did not show any more courage in the Japanese question than he did with the Negroes in his Pro-

gressive convention, he would do no good," she declared emphatically. The pastor smiled at the retort and Mrs. McCulloch sat down.

Dr. McElveen's discussion was of the proposed policy as presented recently to President Wilson by Professor Sidney L. Gulick of Japan.

"Why should we refuse our citizenship to the yellow man or the red

man if we still admit the black and the white?" said Dr. McElveen. "We must recognize all colors and nationalities in this country."

Cannot Denounce Caste System in India and Exclude Yellow People from U. S.

"We denounce the caste system in India and China, but do we not have a caste system of our own when we differentiate between colors in admitting aliens to citizenship? The California alien laws have been needlessly insulting to our nation, and our federal immigration law is a faulty one."

"We cannot go on professing to be friends with Japan and still refuse its people rights of citizenship in our country. 'Do unto Japan as you would Japan do unto you.'"

Equal Rights for All Nations—Color Neither Qualification or Disqualification for Citizenship.

"The fundamental principle of the new oriental policy is that equal rights shall be given all nations by the United States. Secondly, race shall not be either a qualification or a disqualification for United States citizenship. All applicants for citizenship should have the American viewpoint of education and character. This is Gulick's test for citizenship." election at the final election in November, and

Resolved that our further purpose shall be to secure for Mr. Shortridge, if possible, the solid colored Republican vote throughout the State of California.

NEGROES SEEK CONTROL

Louisiana Sees Significance in Rush to Pay Poll Tax.

NEW ORLEANS, La., Jan. 6.—That the negroes of Louisiana are again going to make an effort to secure control of the Republican party in the State is forecasted by the record payment of poll taxes made by them during 1914.

To enable them to vote in the presidential election of 1916 they must have paid their 1914 poll tax, and here in New Orleans alone no less than 6000 negroes paid the required tax.

Politically the record payment of negro poll taxes is taken as of great significance. Since the Progressive party's birth there has been no Republican party, the adherents among the whites joining the new party.

PLEASING SIGNS OF THE TIMES

LOS ANGELES WOMEN IN POLITICS

The Chicago Defender
8/22/14



COURTESY OF LOS ANGELES TRIBUNE.

Group at Reception Given Vincent Morgan, Candidate for District Attorney. Left to Right—Mrs. David Forbes, Mrs. E. V. Moxley, Mr. Morgan, Mrs. Katherine Baar.

Los Angeles, Cal., Aug. 21.—(Special.)—Vincent Morgan, candidate for district attorney, was the guest of honor at a tea and reception given at the Sojourner Truth home, East Adams street and Central avenue, yesterday afternoon, by the women's Morgan campaign committee. During the reception, which lasted from 4 to 7 o'clock, Mr. Morgan was introduced to hundreds of his Afro-American supporters.

Mrs. Katherine Baar, chairman of the women's Morgan campaign committee, acted as hostess. She was assisted by Beatrice Thompson, secretary.

Those acting as patronesses were Mrs. E. V. Moxley, Mrs. J. L. Holt, Mrs. James Vena, Mrs. Howard Shanks, Mrs. J. M. Scott, Mrs. J. W. Wickcliffe, Mrs. T. B. Little, Mrs. Corine Hicks, Mrs. Owen Huddleson, Mrs. C. D. Conners, Mrs. L. M. Blodgett, Mrs. C. Campbell, Mrs. B. Wilson, Mrs. Alexander, Mrs. A. Hulbert, Mrs. T. J. Nelson, Mrs. S. H. Poole, Mrs. J. J. Leggett and Mrs. Etta Gordon.

An address by Mr. Morgan on the duties of a district attorney of Los Angeles county was enthusiastically applauded by his auditors, and the candidate was informed of the progress of his campaign among the Afro-American element of the county.

Here is a partial list of those in attendance: Mmes. Childres, C. White, Estell, Tanner, Bright, George, McKenzie, Clayton, S. Alexander, J. Harris, L. M. Blodgett, H. B. Shouks, L. Green, Hughes, J. Vena, Johnson, C. Hicks, T. J. Nelson, F. E. Ragland, Stewart, Hill, Bennett, H. B. Brown, Bridges, Lovett, S. H. Poole, Warner, Ponisette, Alice Patton, Patterson, J. Addison and J. H. Schockelfed.

ATTORNEY HARRISON

William Harrison, Esq., a member of the Oklahoma bar, acquitted himself bravely before the Supreme Court of the United States last Monday afternoon in the presence of some of the greatest lawyers in the country. This able son of Ham could not be disconcerted in any way whatever by the great Chief Justice of the court. The argument of Mr. Harrison fully demonstrated what the Negro lawyer can do if he is given the business or the opportunity. Mr. Harrison knew his case and the law and the argument he advanced convinced his hearers that Negroes know the law and know how to argue it. His address before the Bethel Literary also was another masterly effort of

this disciple of Blackstone. It was through Rev. Jernigan and others that this Oklahoma case was brought from Oklahoma to the United States Supreme Court.

The Bee next week will contain a synopsis of his argument and the part Rev. Jernigan took in this celebrated case, which The Bee hopes will result in a vindication of the rights of the Negroes in this country.

A Spoiled Contest

The News-Leader, a white afternoon paper published in Richmond, recently offered a prize of ten dollars for the best argument against woman suffrage. Six hundred and twenty-five answers were received and the contest editor selected the winner who received the following complimentary letter from the News-Leader:

"Dear Mrs. Goode,

"Herewith the News-Leader wishes to hand you a check for Ten Dollars (\$10.) for your very excellent answer submitted in the contest, it having been declared the best received. We congratulate you on your winning the first prize, and hope that when other contests are arranged we will see one or more answers from you.

"The Contest Editor would like to publish a photograph of you. Will you be kind enough to oblige us by sending the picture, which will be returned to you after an etching is made of it?

"Yours very truly,

(Signed) Louis A. Macmahon,
"Managing Editor."

Mrs. Goode sent her photograph, as requested, but it was not published, for the reason that Mrs. Goode is a colored woman, a fact that was unknown to the News-Leader when it awarded her the prize. The inferior (?) and irrepressible colored person very often obtrudes upon some competitive enterprise only to carry off the honors to the utter embarrassment and humiliation of the infallible and altogether superior (?) white person.

ALABAMA'S VOTING STRENGTH 298,363

Advertise 6-19-14
Less Than Half the Men Who
Are Eligible to Vote Avail
Themselves of Privilege

There are in Alabama 298,363 men who are eligible to vote in elections and not one half of this number avail themselves of that privilege, according to figures compiled by W. F. Feagin, State Superintendent of Education. In the last primary election, the vote was 144,000 in the first primary, the largest vote cast in the State.

Mr. Feagin's figures show that there are 31,661 white men in Alabama over the age of twenty-one years that cannot read or write.

The figures show that there are 92,833 negroes over twenty-one years of age who cannot read or write. This makes a total of 123,494 illiterate males above twenty-one years of age. The census shows that that are 513,108 men in Alabama more than twenty-one years of age.

These figures were compiled by Mr. Feagin from the United State Census reports and will be used in the teachers Institutes this summer when the question of illiteracy is discussed.

*Whelan M. C.
Register
Nov. 1/14*

TELL IT TO THE GRAND JURY.

It is characteristic of hard losers to raise the cry of "fraud" whether there is evidence of election irregularities or not, but it is rather unbecoming in the local reactionary organ to set up a howl of that character in a county and city notorious for rotten Republican primaries, and in a state which has its McDowell and Mingo, where machine Republicans in control of appointments of all election officers have made it possible to vote repeaters, dead men and dogs.

The Intelligencer has been yelling until it is blue in the face about alleged crookedness in Marion county in the interest of the Democratic ticket, but we have been unable to find any basis for its vaporings other

election season as a period of "easy money," provided they will do the bidding of Republican manipulators. We are referring to one class of the blacks; not to the better element of the race, which cannot be bought or driven.

But the West Virginian makes the amazing charge that the Democrats, and not the Republicans, profited by the illegal negro registration and negro repeating which it alleges. Its specific charge is that one hundred negroes were improperly listed and that many of them "voted as often as two or three times in the city." This is a serious reflection on the Republican registrars of Marion county, if we assume the West Virginian's charge that they were registered by the Democrats to be true.

The West Virginian imposes a severe tax on public credulity in asserting that any Democrat spent money to buy negro votes, because we do not believe any sane Democrat would consider that a good investment. The negro is the most dependable asset of the Republican party. There are innumerable instances in which he has promised to support Democrats, but the election returns in negro voting precincts very rarely indicate that he has scratched his ticket. Therefore

than the fact that Marion rolled up bigger Democratic majorities than the standpatters expected. The Fairmont West Virginian, whose editor was defeated for the state senate by the votes of his neighbors, comes much closer than the Intelligencer to making specific allegations, and strangely enough the West Virginian's obsession is that Alabama and North Carolina negroes

were illegally registered and that they repeated on election day.

That bare statement would impress the average person as a charge against the Republicans, because it is by no means unusual for Republican tricksters to utilize the negro floater on election day. When a Republican political crook wants to do a little cheating his first thought is of the vicious element among the negroes, which is easiest reached with a corruption fund, which is safest because it is hard to distinguish one negro from another, and because many negroes have formed the habit through long experience of looking upon the we believe that if anybody in Marion county paid any negroes to vote the Democratic ticket he was really playing into the hands of the opposition,

and that if one hundred illegally registered southern negroes repeated in Marion county, the Democratic pluralities in that county were materially reduced thereby.

The very nature of the West Virginian's charge creates the suspicion that it is merely an ebullition of anger over personal defeat. It is inconceivable that any such frauds as are alleged could have taken place without general public knowledge, and as the editor of the West Virginian is an interested party we suggest that he might perform a real service for the cause of honest elections by telling his story to the grand jury. In fact, his failure to take that course will discredit all his charges in the eyes of the public.

BEFORE THE HIGH TRIBUNAL

SUPREME COURT CONSIDERING LAW TO DISFRANCHISE NEGRO

Considering Grandfather Clause And Other Devices

Nashville Globe

Washington, Nov. 7.—The last word on considering legislation as to "grandfather clause" provision and other methods of depriving Negroes of the ballot is to be handed down during the present session of the United States Supreme Court. The decisions will be fraught with more importance to the Negro than any in a quarter of a century, it is declared, since the country will know of the success or failure of various ingenious means that are alleged to have been adopted both in the North and South to take from the Negro a position of equality with the white man.

The "grandfather clause" method of restricting the right of the Negro to vote has been the most popular of

all the late attempts of the South to nullify the guarantee of the right to vote contained in the fifteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution. In short, persons are barred from voting if their grandfathers were not eligible to vote in their day.

The Oklahoma wording of this "clause" is generally typical of those adopted in other states, and it is one of those before the court for consideration. It provides a reading and writing qualification for voting in the State, but excepts from its operation those who were eligible to vote in 1866, or whose ancestors were eligible to vote in any state in the Union or any foreign country in that year.

Test Case on "Jim Crow" Law.

The validity of the most far-reaching Jim Crow law ever pressed will be determined in the Oklahoma case, brought by E. P. McCabe and several other Negroes against the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Co., and other railroad companies to test the validity of the law, which requires separate waiting rooms and car service for Negroes engaged in travel within the State, also for Negroes making interstate journeys in Oklahoma.

The State defends its action on the ground that the act was designed to preserve peace and order, and this is just as necessary on an interstate journey as an intrastate one. The Oklahoma courts upheld the validity of the law, despite the fact that it does not require sleeping car facilities to be furnished to Negroes barred from sleeping cars provided for the whites. They declared this was not a substantial discrimination, because there was no demand among Negroes for sleeping car accommodations, which would justify separate sleeping cars for them.

In one of the first cases argued to the court, the Federal Government will seek to strike down a form of alleged peonage to which blacks in Alabama are being subjected by plantation owners with the aid of the local courts.

An "Unwritten Law" Case.

From Texas comes a case of the court in which a Negro sets up a claim to the "unwritten law" on an equality with the white man. It is the case in which Carl Oliver was convicted of having murdered a white man whom he found in the company of his wife.

Oliver claims that the court which tried him erred in not instructing the jury that under the laws of Texas and the United States a Negro is entitled to the same rights or protection as to the defending of the honor of his home as a white man would be in the same circumstances. Oliver also claims that there was an unlawful discrimination in the selection of the grand jury which indicted him

in that Negroes were not eligible for selection.

John B. Gaskill, a Negro of Chicago, is to make a last attempt to force the Forest Hill Cemetery Co. to permit him to bury his wife, who died in 1912, alongside his children interred within the cemetery. From 1890 to 1896, the Gaskills buried four children in the Forest Hill cemetery. Then in 1907, the cemetery officials adopted a resolution barring the bodies of colored persons who owned no lots in the cemetery, from burial therein.—Post-Despatch.

TOURS CLOEL DEMOCRAT

SEP 11 1914

WANTS NEGROES IN CONGRESS

Head of Baptist Convention Pleads for Equal Representation.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., September 10.—Woman suffrage was indorsed and a plea for representation in a congress of the 10,000,000 negroes in the United States was made in the annual address of Rev. E. C. Morris, president of the National Baptist convention, at the opening session of the organization here yesterday.

"The suffrage movement has its foundation in the fact that taxation without representation is unjust and no class or race is better prepared by experience to sympathize with such a movement than the colored people," declared Mr. Morris. "The capital of our nation," he said, "is a hotbed of race hatred and from there it will continue to spread to all sections of the country until the negro men shall be elected to Congress and speak for themselves."

"As Christian workers," the speaker added, "we are for peace and we pray for the time to come when nations shall study war no more, and yet as true Americans, in the face of all discriminations, we stand ready to defend the flag of our country against any foreign foe." More than 5000 delegates from nearly every state in the union are attending the convention.

Pittsburgh Dispatch

NOV 1 1914

NEGROES WILL SUPPORT

Mass Meeting Gives Assurances of Help for Penrose

At a well-attended meeting of colored voters at the Labor Temple last night a number of orators pledged the support of local Negroes to Senator Boies Penrose, because of anti-Negro legislation attempted at Washington. Frank R. Steward presided and delivered an address. Other colored speakers were William H. Stanton, Abraham T. Hall and Dr. W. S. Sinclair. Dr. A. J. Barchfeld and other Republican candidates also made addresses.

W. J. Burke at a Republican meeting at Hazelwood last night reproved Theodore Roosevelt for trying to destroy the Republican party.

Suffrage - 1914.

REACTION WITH A VENGEANCE.

Advertiser - 11-29-14
A part of the big program for the Alabama Legislature already mapped out, and the legislative session will have to be four hundred and fifty days long instead of fifty days, if a fourth of the laws already proposed are passed, contemplates a revision of the Alabama primary and election laws. This is the unending task of the Alabama Legislature—to tinker every four years with the primary and election laws, to find some measures which will satisfy a minority, because it did not have votes enough.

For thirteen years Alabama has had the direct primary law, and every time the Legislature meets the election laws are overhauled and revamped. We are reminded by the experience of Alabama, because New York is traveling the same route. The New York Legislature, which is Republican, this time, will set out to revise the election laws according to the wishes of Charles S. Whitman, the Governor-to-be. The proposed revisions are what would be termed reactionary in the extreme. There are more than a dozen proposed changes, but we present the fundamental suggestions as illustrative of the swing back of the popular pendulum from the advanced position assumed by political leaders in 1910 and 1912.

Some of the proposed changes are:

Short ballot making Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and Comptroller only elective, and all other State officers appointees of the Governor.

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A virtual repeal of the Levy and all other laws put through by Democratic Legislatures in the last four years.

According to the ideas of the Progressives, discredited in the last election, this will be going backward with a vengeance. There is, first of all, the restoration of the old party convention, discredited these many years and the special object of hatred of the zealous reformer. The short ballot idea has been endorsed by the progressive writers, but none of them can truthfully claim that the appointment of State officials by a government is carrying out the idea of the "direct rule of the people."

The proposed changes in the law are illuminating examples in the altered public opinion of the day.

WHO'S WHO AMONG THE NEGROES OF JEFFERSON COUNTY AND BIRMINGHAM.

If you want to know who's who among the male contingency don't go to the roll of society, neither of social nor secret order. Many have standing in social life that never exercise any of the loftier duties of citizenship. Society is their highest notions—the smoker, the dance, the evening dress, the joy ride, the poker game, the card game, and a hundred and one other things that represent only the frills and frivolities of life—these represent the circle of their idea of a citizen. What a poor, frivolous, insignificant and meaningless view and yet some of this same stamp, with nothing more to represent them, will lay claim to being in the Who's Who Column.

A fellow may be high in Negro social life and stand for very little so far as the more significant things of the real citizen's life is concerned, for too often that standing is based on how well he dresses, how well he can dance, how well he can play cards, etc. Society has its place, but the place for men is higher up.

Don't go to the roll of secret orders, for many belong to them who have no higher notion than preparing to be buried, getting a sick benefit, or being in crowds of other folks, sometimes of being a leader and living at the expense of other people, and living easy. Secret orders have their place, but not the place.

Don't go merely to the church roll, for many go there seeking social recognition and popularity alone, having no fitness for Christian association. Yet the church roll has its place, but a place significant in proportion as it contains the names of those really fit.

Go to the poll tax books and the registration list and see Who's Who.

Don't go to the tax books merely to find out how much taxes a man pays, for he may pay a large tax and yet be without those loftier notions of citizenship. Dollars don't make men. There is something above the dollar, above wealth, above popularity. It is a man's notion of life, and life's duties.

One of the highest duties a citizen has to perform is to pay his poll tax; the tax that points him out as a man, as one, as a man to be protected, a man having paid that tax which is a voluntary expression of his desire to support his government and to have his rights protected. If a man is behind with his poll tax for ten years, he should pay up and be a man, be counted; not just be in the crowd, but have a real name in the crowd; not to be known by a number as convicts are known, but to be called John Doe, Henry White or some real name. Let him pay his poll tax. The State, the County, the City in which you live needs it and you need the stiffening that comes from the consciousness of duty performed. If every Negro who owes poll tax should pay up in Jefferson county and Birmingham, the treasury would be stronger by many thousands of dollars.

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There is an argument rife that after all the Negro cares little or nothing about the privilege of the ballot. From the course pursued by some of our men of intelligence, it would seem so. Why force upon a man what he does not value or care for? Does the Negro not care for the ballot, the highest privilege any citizen can exercise? Certainly he does. He only needs to be awakened.

Where is the county chairman of Jefferson? Where are the beat chairmen? This is the registration season. Let them get busy. Do you want recognition in any political party? Get the people registered. More respect will come to the Negro when he shows himself desirous to exercise the privilege of the ballot. When a people lose their identity with the ballot they have lost what it will take years to regain, if ever. Let no false

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"Mr. Slaton's original platform (April 19) was a mere rhetorical statement of platitudes and a mass of glittering generalities. Driven from his unctuous statement of April 19, 'My creed rests in the established principles of the democratic party,' he now asserts, 'In my announcement I defined my creed, but that none may be in doubt how to construe that creed, permit me to apply it to all questions that are or may be issue in this contest.' I intend to show that in many respects his second platform is but a slight improvement on his first, so far as making plain his position is concerned. "When Mr. Slaton and Mr. Felder advocate state rights, rural credit legislation for the benefit of our farmers, restricted immigration, the prevention of the abuse of the process of injunction in labor disputes, the extension of our foreign trade, federal aid to the state and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads, they are not presenting anything new or distinctive. So with the creation of the division of markets, already an accomplished fact. All of these are democratic measures, most of them embraced in our party platform, and either accomplished or well on the road to accomplishment.

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"Against every promise either of them can make on these questions, I can, in most instances, at least, point to performance. I have already voted for most of them and have done my part toward actually enacting them into law.

Hardwick Claims Performance.

"For instance, I reported the special rule that rendered possible the passage by the house at this session of the Burnett bill to restrict immigration by increasing the head tax and imposing an educational test, and I supported and voted for the bill itself.

"So with the question of federal aid to post roads. I helped secure the consideration and passage, during the present session by the house, of the Shackelford bill appropriating \$25,000,000 to the post roads of the country.

"Again, I have three times voted for and supported the principle involved in the so-called Bacon-Bartlett amendment to prevent the prosecution of farmers and labor unions under the Sherman anti-trust law unless these organizations' acts are in themselves unlawful, and that principle is fully recognized in the Clayton bill which passed the house on June 5, 1914, and which I supported. So with almost every plank in the platform of either one of them. For every promise they can make, I can point to an act of performance on my part.

"Mr. Felder's position of opposing life tenure of office with especial reference to the federal judiciary is a democratic doctrine as old as Jefferson and from Jefferson himself. Mr. Felder cannot claim a patent on it nor charge Mr. Slaton or any other democrat with infringing his patent because he assents to that doctrine.

Attacks Felder's Peonage Plank.

"I believe Mr. Felder's peonage plank is original, however, and that his complaint that Mr. Slaton has purloined it is well founded. Why Mr. Slaton should have done so is incomprehensible to me. I would not borrow it, much less steal it. If Mr. Felder is serious about this contention, and is intellectually honest, he ought to go the full extent that his rival from his own town, Mr. Cooper, goes, and advocate a repeal of the thirteenth amendment and a return to slavery. The peonage statute on its face is fair and just in its terms. If slavery is to remain prohibited by the federal constitution, then it is difficult to see how the federal congress could be induced to repeal this law to safeguard that constitutional provision. Consequently it cannot be repealed. Not a decent number of members in either house of congress or in any committee of either house, could be induced to consider such a proposition.

"If this is not the situation, and has not been the case for years, then Senators Colquitt, Gordon, Clay, Bacon, Walsh and Hoke Smith and Speaker Crisp and every Georgia representative in the past thirty-seven years are subject to indictment for neglect of duty for no one of them has made the slightest effort in all these years to repeal or modify this law. The law is fair enough on its face. The trouble is that it has been given, in some jurisdictions, a strained construction and a despotic enforcement. No one knows this better than Messrs. Felder and Slaton.

Slaton's Tariff Plank.

"In his second platform Mr. Slaton now insists that he is a low tariff democrat and that to raise that question is absurd, as all democrats are low tariff democrats. He is in error about the latter part of his statement, and still too general in his declaration.

"If he ever attends a democratic caucus in either house of congress I think he will find that we still have many high tariff democrats just as we had in Jackson's day, in Randall's day and in Gorman's day.

"On what class of articles would he levy a substantial revenue duty, and

on what a small duty or none? Would he stand as I did in the democratic caucus for the imposition of a duty on raw silk, used to make articles of luxury, so that the blankets and many other articles of necessity, both food and clothing, might go untaxed, of which he, for revenue purposes, insists that a 20 per cent tax on blankets be retained?

"If Mr. Slaton agrees thoroughly with President Wilson's policy of repealing the iniquitous subsidy to the coastwise shipping trust and requiring those vessels to pay tolls and thus aid in the maintenance of the canal built at enormous expense out of the money of all the people, why does he qualify his approval of the Wilson policy with the statement 'I would do so with the understanding that I would oppose any declaration limiting the right of this country to control in future the four hundred million dollar property that our people have built, paid for, and own'?

"Who proposes such a foolish and unpatriotic declaration? Surely not the great president whose policy on this question Mr. Slaton professes to support. Who else? Why, then, this Slaton-like qualification? Can it be ascribed to an earnest desire to ride with the hare and hold with the hounds? Can he hope to catch the Wilson support with the first part of his remarkable declaration, and hold the Hearst support with its latter and qualifying clause?

Claims to Be Better Fitted.

"In this contest I am contending, and my friends throughout the state are urging, that long and useful service in one house of congress has better fitted me for service in the other house than my competitors, no one of whom has had a day of such service. Realizing the tremendous force of this argument, my political foes everywhere have sought to weaken it by a systematic and shameless effort to belittle me and to disparage my service in the house of representatives. Mr. Slaton now puts himself at the head of this propaganda and assumes public responsibility for it. Now that he has done so, though I have passed it by in silent contempt when coming from other pens, I shall no longer permit it to go unchallenged.

"That honest Georgia democrats, even in the heat of bitter political contest, should seek to rob a fellow Georgian and a fellow democrat of whatever credit an honorable and useful career as one of their representatives entitles him to is most regrettable, but that a gentleman who holds the office of governor of Georgia, and seeks to be one of its senators, and who knows better, should join in such a despicable crusade is infinitely worse.

"Ignorance might excuse some, but not him.

"Mr. Slaton insinuates that because I have only two committee assignments in the house, after years of service, that this, in itself, is proof that my standing in that body is not high.

"Mr. Slaton's standard for judging the value of committee assignments seems to be neither high nor accurate. In the legislature of our state, when he was speaker and president of the senate, the smooth personal politics that he constantly sought to play with all members of any consequence, may have led him to appoint almost every member to a large number of committees. This may have been gratifying to the personal pride of the members, and consequently an asset of importance to an ambitious presiding officer. That system, however, does not make for efficiency in committee work, and is not the one we follow in the house of representatives. Here we give a man only such committees as he can actually and regularly work upon, and more often than not, only one committee assignment.

Hardwick's Length of Service.

"For instance, but two of my colleagues from Georgia rank with me in length of service. They are Judge Bartlett and Judge Adamson. Judge

Bartlett serves on but one committee, appropriations, and Judge Adamson on but one committee, interstate and foreign commerce.

"Mr. Slaton insinuates also that even the two committees I serve on are not of importance. Is that fair? I am the second democrat on the committee on rules. Does Mr. Slaton rank the committee on rules in the house of representatives of our legislature as unimportant? Well, here it is important. It is the great political and steering committee of the house, invested with large powers and heavy responsibilities. It determines what bills the house is to consider. Does he esteem the coinage committee of the house as of no importance? Well, the last Georgian before myself who ever presided over it was Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, and my last predecessor as chairman was Hon. Richard P. Bland, of Missouri.

"Mr. Slaton also neglected to state, through inadvertence of course, that when the democrats captured the house in the election of 1910 for the first time in sixteen years, and undertook to organize two great special committees to investigate the steel and sugar industries, I was selected to head the committee on sugar, being the only member of the house who was chairman of two committees during the sixty-first congress.

"But Mr. Slaton insists that I have been author of no important legislation.

"Let him inform the house what great measures in Georgia bear his name and acknowledge his authorship.

"Still I will ask if Mr. Slaton never heard of the long fight for free sugar and of my connection with it? By the one fight I have at least helped to remove from a great necessity of life a tax that has cost the consumers of the country more than two thousand million dollars since 1897.

"Did he ever hear of the long and continued fight that I helped make on Cannon and Cannonism? And of the part I played in reforming the rules of the house so as to redeem the pledges of the party to the country in this matter?

"Does he not know that I was the author of the proposal to put the telephone, telegraph and Pullman companies engaged in interstate business under the jurisdiction of the federal railroad commission?

Repeal of Fifteenth Amendment.

"Mr. Slaton attempts to prove that I am either insincere or without influence in the house because, during all the years of my membership there, I have been unable to get my proposal to repeal the fifteenth amendment reported out by the committee and acted on by the house. During all these same years Mr. Underwood, of Alabama, has introduced, one congress after another, precisely the same resolution. He also has been unable to get this proposition reported out and acted on by the house.

"Consequently, according to Mr. Slaton, Mr. Underwood as well as myself must be without influence or position or standing in the house.

"His pitiful attempt to make belated capital out of my vote to increase the congressional salary is simply threshing out old straw. That is one vote I am proud of and upon which I am willing to stand. I do not believe in cheap labor of any kind. Considering the expenses he must meet, the burdens he must bear, the style of living he must maintain, the members of both houses of congress are poorly enough paid, even now. If we pay no salary or an inadequate salary, men of no means or of small means will be unable to serve, and the congressmen will be recruited from the ranks of plutocrats and crooks, and if either of these classes or a combination of both ever control congress, may God help the plain people of this republic. I welcome the issue on this question that Mr. Slaton invites. I have submitted the question in one of the hottest contests the state ever witnessed to one

great district in this state and my position was overwhelmingly indorsed. I am willing to submit it to the entire state, to all the districts, and since Mr. Slaton chooses to take the side that the demagogues usually takes in matters of this kind, I am glad he does so.

Hardwick and the Union Depot.

"I will not answer at much length Mr. Slaton's fling at me about the so-called depot bill in the legislature of Georgia. Mr. Hall, of Bibb, has already answered him completely on this question. I did not support this bill and have never regretted my failure to do so. I did not vote for it because, as I viewed it, I had no right under the constitution of the state and under my oath to support it, to appropriate the sinking fund of the state to build a depot for the railroads, and besides, I thought the railroads ought to build their own depot and that the state of Georgia ought not to build it for them. My views of the constitutional question were subsequently sustained by the supreme court of Georgia.

"When Governor Slaton seeks to ascribe to me a narrow prejudice against Atlanta as the motive that prompted my action in this matter he passes beyond all bounds. I do not think he believes it himself. I have never in my life failed to support Atlanta in every worthy undertaking. I recall only recently that I earnestly indorsed and actually worked for Atlanta as one of the cities in which a regional bank should be located, because I knew Atlanta was the only Georgia city that had a chance and did so at a time when Governor Slaton could not be induced to say more than he favored some Georgia city.

"I could with much more propriety than Governor Slaton question motives, for it is an undeniable fact that the value of certain large property holdings of members of his family, notably the Kimball house, would have been greatly enhanced if the depot bill had passed and the new station been located on the site of the old one.

Hardwick and Negro Disfranchisement.

"Mr. Slaton in his card sees some evidence of weakness on my part, in that when I first introduced the negro disfranchisement bill in the Georgia legislature in 1899 it received only three votes. He does not seem to realize that a pioneer, who blazes the way, even in legislation, usually loses at first and he sees no elements of strength in me because of the persevering fight that I made through nine long years, and which finally culminated in glorious and complete success, both in the legislature and at the polls.

"Mr. Slaton was in the legislature in 1899 when this bill was introduced. He voted against it. He voted against it in 1901. Possibly his opposition had something to do with the fact that it only got a small vote. If so, let him accept the responsibility. I readily accept the issue he raises. I stood then and have always stood for negro disfranchisement and white supremacy. He stood then, and has always stood, opposed to the former, and, therefore, unwilling to take the necessary step to insure and safeguard the latter.

"Nor has his disinclination to get rid of the negro as voter and officeholder ended there. As recently as September, 1913, while Mr. Bolling H. Jones, the new democratic postmaster at Atlanta, was endeavoring to rid the postal service there of a number of negroes who held responsible places there, for which they drew fat salaries, in order to substitute for them worthy and efficient white men, his efforts to accomplish this were strenuously fought by a firm of Atlanta attorneys who fought these removals first before the Atlanta postmaster and afterwards appealed the case to the postoffice department in Washington.

"Presumably these attorneys were paid in part by the Atlanta negroes and in part by a certain 'society for the securing of equal political rights for colored men' in Chicago, as that concern seems also to have been busy about these removals.

Governor Slaton's Law Firm.

"What was the name of this firm of attorneys? Rosser, Brandon, Slaton & Phillips.

"If Slaton denies it I am prepared to cite cases and give details. If he admits, but asserts that he had no knowledge of it and nothing to do with it, then my rejoinder is that his partners used his name with full right and authority to do so.

"Furthermore, I insist that when Mr. Slaton assisted in forming the law firm of Rosser, Brandon, Slaton & Phillips, after his nomination and election as governor of Georgia, and only a short time prior to his inauguration, he committed a manifest impropriety that no governor of Georgia from Oglethorpe's day to his ever committed before.

"It is manifestly improper that the governor of a state should be a partner in any law firm engaged in the active practice of law before the courts of the state over whose destinies he is presiding. If he does so, what a temptation is presented to every person in the state charged with the commission of crime to engage that law firm, on the idea that after he had exhausted the processes of the court he may still present his appeal for pardon or executive clemency to a governor who is, at least nominally, one of his own lawyers.

"Of course an honest governor, as I hope and believe Governor Slaton to be, might lean backward against his quasi client in his effort to avoid being partial to him. Still, it is a regrettable and intolerable position, and the fact that Governor Slaton has put himself in it seems to strongly indicate that he lacks balance, discretion and judgment that are such necessary qualifications both for a governor and a senator.

"Again, when Rosser, Brandon, Slaton & Phillips take cases of this kind to protest against the removal of negro officeholders, it can hardly be said that it is law, strictly speaking, that they are practicing. It requires no knowledge of common or state law or of the decisions to write these letters. It is influence they sought to practice. Political pull that they sought to obtain. What gave the firm of Rosser, Brandon, Slaton & Phillips its political prestige and influence? The name of John M. Slaton, whom the white democrats of Georgia nominated and elected governor and who let the name, while governor, to a firm of Atlanta attorneys who did not hesitate to use that name to try to keep negro republicans in the Atlanta postoffice and white democrats out. I know where Governor Slaton stood on the negro question in 1899, in 1901, in 1907, when he either opposed or failed to support disfranchisement. I also know where he stood in 1913. Where he stands today I cannot tell.

As to Geography.

"I do not think that residence alone ought to be a great factor in the selection of our senators. There are many other considerations of vastly more importance. I have always said so. But if other things are equal, then both of our senators ought not to come from Atlanta, and I do not believe the democrats of Georgia are going to select them both from Atlanta this year.

"In 1911, when Governor Smith was elected to the senate to fill Senator Clay's unexpired term, his own state senator, Hon. John M. Slaton did not support him, because, he asserted, that when a man was elected governor of Georgia he made a solemn contract with the people to serve them in that capacity for two years, and he ought to be required to live up to his contract. The same doctrine applies to Mr. Slaton now. He cannot escape its force by any little pleasantry about asking the dear people to amend the contract. He made the contract to serve them two years as governor and unless all signs are wrong, he will not be permitted, but forced, to keep and serve two years as governor.

"THOMAS W. HARDWICK."

DIXIE KILLS WOMAN SUFFRAGE TO KEEP UP HER RACE BARS

The New York News 3-26-14

Senator John Sharpe Williams Declares That Equal Race Ballot and Panama Canal Tolls Planks in Democratic Platform Hypocritical 3-26-14

19 SENATORS AGAINST 15TH AMENDMENT

Most Remarkable Declaration Ever Made of Political Degradation of Dixie When Famous Southern Spokesmen, Williams and Vardaman, Use Woman Suffrage as Mask for National Race Disfranchisement.

Special to the New York News:
Washington, D. C., March 26.—The most base and remarkable political declaration ever made upon the floor of the United States Senate was made on last Thursday by John Sharp Williams, when he declared that the planks in the Democratic platform of political race equality, just like the Panama Canal tolls plank, were mere schemes of his party's hypocrisy to catch votes. Washington and the country are being shocked more and more as the full import of the Southern Senator's words are discussed.

The joint resolution providing for submitting to the States a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage was put on its final passage in the Senate this afternoon, and received a majority of one, the vote being 35 to 34. As a two-thirds vote was necessary, the resolution was killed. If all Senators absent or paired had voted for it, the resolution would still have lacked the requisite support.

The final vote was preceded by two efforts from Democratic sources to inject the colored question into the dis-

cussion. Mr. Vardaman of Mississippi, who fought his campaign for election to the Senate largely on a platform advocating repeal of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, proposed a modification of the woman suffrage resolution tantamount to a repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment. It was rejected by a vote of 19 to 48. Mr. Vardaman's colleague, Mr. Williams, then tried to limit compulsory woman suffrage to white women, but his amendment was defeated by a vote of 21 to 44. Neither Mr. Williams nor Mr. Vardaman voted for the resolution itself.

Fourteen Democrats and twenty-one Republicans voted for the resolution, while twenty-two Democrats and twelve Republicans voted against it. The growth of the suffrage idea in the solid South, with her 26 votes, was indicated by the favoring four votes of Mr. Lea of Tennessee, Mr. Owen of Oklahoma, Mr. Sheppard of Texas, and Mr. Ransdell of Louisiana.

The galleries were packed for the closing hours of the debate. More colored people than usual were present, perhaps in anticipation of the amendments offered by the Southern Senators, and some of them were observed to laugh heartily at one of Mr. Williams' remarks at their expense.

"I agree that whites and blacks are equal before the law," said Mr. Williams, "though nobody in his heart believes in racial equality. But as far as the law is concerned, I'd even give a

little leeway to the Negro. I would send a white man to the penitentiary in a minute for stealing chickens, but I wouldn't send a nigger to the penitentiary for stealing chickens. If I were on a grand jury I'd indict a white man for bigamy, but I wouldn't indict a nigger for bigamy."

"What did the Cleveland Democratic platform in 1884 mean," asked Mr. Gallinger of New Hampshire, "with its pledge of 'free ballot and fair count?'"

"Oh," laughed Mr. Williams, "I suppose some fellow came into the convention and told us that plank would catch some nigger vote, so we put it in."

"It was about as binding, then, as the Baltimore plank for free tolls?" asked Mr. Gallinger with a grin.

"Just about as binding," said Mr. Williams, while the galleries shouted with laughter. "And I guess it was put in just about the same way."

As soon as the final vote on the amending resolution was taken, Mr. Shafroth of Colorado introduced a substitute amendment requiring any State to submit the woman suffrage question to its voters if a fifth of the voters at the last election requested it.

No action was taken on the new proposal, but Mr. Antoinette Funk, lawyer for the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, announced that the association would support it.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF WEST VIRGINIA

Will Oppose Disfranchisement Attitude of Colored Voters.

(Special to The Bee.)
Charleston, W. Va., May 25.—The

Republican party of West Virginia placed itself squarely on record as opposed to the disfranchisement of the Negro, and favoring the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the United States Constitution, and the reduction of the South's representation in Congress, at the State Republican Convention, held May 20th, in this city, to ratify the recommendations of the Republican National Committee.

The convention was held in the State Armory and was one of the largest conventions of any party to ever meet in this State. Delegates and members of the party were here from every section of the State, and the keenest interest was manifested in the proceedings as the future of the Republican party was to be largely determined by the action of this convention.

Much apprehension existed among the leaders as to the attitude of the colored leaders and delegates in relation to the ratification of the actions of the Republican National Committee, and it was well founded, as the colored leaders had determined to contest every inch of the ground and to defeat ratification unless the rec-

ommendations of the National Committee were so amended as to clearly place the Republican party on record as to the disfranchisement of the Negro in the South and the reduction of Southern representation in Congress.

A conference was held in the sick room of Attorney T. G. Nutter, who was looked to to lead the fight for the colored delegates on the floor of the convention, by L. O. Wilson, grand chancellor of the Knights of Pythias of West Virginia, W. W. Saunders, State Librarian, Attorney E. J. Graham, of Wheeling and T. G. Nutter, of this city, and as a result of that conference the following resolution was prepared by Mr. Nutter to be offered as an amendment to the resolutions ratifying the action of the Republican National Committee:

"The adoption of the recommendations of the Republican National Committee by the Republican party of West Virginia in convention assembled, is not to be construed as an endorsement of the election laws of the Southern States, unjustly disfranchising thousands of American citizens, who, in law and in equity, are entitled to express their choice at

the ballot box; and the Republican party of West Virginia, in convention assembled, hereby denounces said election laws as unjust and indefensible, and demands that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the United States Constitution be enforced and the Southern States Congressional representation be based upon the actual voting strength under their election laws."

The resolution was presented at the meeting of the State Committee by Grand Chancellor L. O. Wilson, who was selected to lead the fight in the place of Mr. Nutter, Dr. R. L. Jones refusing to permit Mr. Nutter to attend the convention. The State Committee accepted the resolution with applause and recommended it to the State Convention, and it was passed by the convention unanimously after a brilliant speech by L. O. Wilson, who demanded that the party go on record in no unmistakable terms. There was not an objection to the resolution, which was also made one of the planks in the platform adopted by the convention.

Hon Phil Waters added much to his brilliant record as reading clerk of the convention. Mr. Waters is considered one of the best informed men in the State on party procedure, and the convention would hear no other clerk except Waters.

THE SOUTH AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Republic of the United States stands a good chance to go the way of former republics and democracies on the question of State's Rights. The question of slavery turned upon that issue, in the final outcome of

which it was determined by a bloody war that the United States is greater than any of its State units; that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." But the Southern States, which forced the issue and were defeated, have consistently adhered to the principle in the important questions of suffrage regulation and control, of State control of interstate commerce, and of regulation and control of marriage and divorce.

Unfortunately, the Southern States have been able to convince the better part of the nation that citizens of the United States are first citizens of the States and subject to their control in all matters of suffrage, civil rights, marriage and divorce, and the like, leaving the Federal Government almost powerless to protect its citizens in any of their rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As far as colored citizens are concerned, this principle has been reduced to an exact science by the Southern States, and persistent efforts are being made to do so in the other States.

For instance, Congressman Thomas J. Hefflin of Alabama is opposed to woman suffrage, as most Southern Congressmen are. In this they have the correct position. In the Democratic caucus last week Mr. Hefflin was able to get the following resolution adopted, which enabled the Democratic Administration to side-step the woman suffrage question and to offensively reaffirm the States Rights principle in the matter of control and regulation of the whole question of voting, State and Federal:

"That it is the sense of the Democratic caucus in the House of Representatives that the question of woman suffrage is a question for the decision of the States and not a Federal question."

This is a very dangerous proposition to commit the nation to. The Federal Supreme Court has allowed itself to be committed to it, the theory being that there is no appeal from the Federal Supreme Court. But there is. This was shown to be so when the nation appealed from the Dred Scott decision of the court, in 1856, that "it is held to be good law and precedent that a black man has no rights that a white man is bound to respect." The Civil War decided that he has such rights. Ever since the

decision was rendered Southern statesmen have been very busy in times of peace, trying to reverse what was settled in times of bloody war. That they have traveled for a heavy fall for themselves and the nation is shown in the strained relations between the races in the Southern States and the new-fangled theories which are gradually undermining our old forms of government as to the States and the nation, wild confusion reigning everywhere.

The right to vote is one of the highest in the gift of the whole people. It must of necessity inhere in the

aggregated Federation of States and not in any of its units. We have that question now as a troublesome one in the assumption of California to discriminate against Asiatics as residents and land owners. That is a question for Congress to determine and not for any State. We have seen this to be true in the issue that Japan by treaty law must deal with the Government at Washington and not at Sacramento. In like sort we refuse to concede that any State has a constitutional right to disfranchise any part of its citizenship "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," by a property or educational or grandfather clause qualification without a constitutional amendment giving such specific power to the States. The Hefflin resolution, on this account, is a dangerous assumption of Federal authority by the States in the broad admissions it makes.

GOV. STUART'S DELIVERANCES.
The Richmond Planet
His Excellency, Henry C. Stuart, Governor of Virginia, delivered an address to the colored people of this city last Sunday afternoon at the Fifth Street Baptist Church, under the auspices of the Colored Y. M. C. A. This address has been the subject of much discussion during the past week for this distinguished statesman made some plain statements.

On the whole, he won the confidence of those who were fortunate enough to hear him. We are of the opinion that the greatest effort of the Governor was in forming an opinion as to the calibre and character of the people, who sat before him.

Our own opinion was that we were listening to the fatherly advice of an ex-slave-owner, who had in

mind the "Old Ante-bellum Negro" rather than the "New Post-bellum Negro," now known sometimes as the "new issue" product. When this great Virginian spoke of his black mammy, tears welled up to his eyes. He would have done anything for her and he would do anything for her off-spring, but when it came to anyone else, unless distantly or intimately related, he looked the person over with the cynical eye of a Southerner, who had his doubts about trusting the average Negro.

Gov. Stuart's references to his old family servant, who was his playmate and over whose grave he had erected a tomb-stone was also touching. We believe that His Excellency has a friendly feeling for the better class of colored people and but little sympathy or patience with the other elements. In this, he has the cordial sympathy and support of right-thinking people everywhere.

We saw, or thought we saw, two elements in this great Virginian struggling for mastery as the good old-fashioned hymns awakened memories of other days,—the lullabies and croonings of that mammy, whose black form had been laid away forever.

Under the mystic influence of that spell, he reached out to offer aid and to promise "a square deal" to her people for her sake, and yet he was bound by party ties, which caused him to say that he would speak plainly, he would not concede that a colored man, no matter how able or how intelligent had a right or would be accorded the privilege of participating in the governmental department of this country. He supplemented this statement and in a measure apologized therefor by declaring that "It was the decree of the Ages."

As though the very thought strained him as he gazed into the anxious faces of those colored people who awaited some definite word of hope, he announced that he would make no promises to them, but they could rest assured that his Administration would be friendly towards them. To our mind, it seemed that Gov. Stuart was fearful lest some wily politician would take advantage of his utterances and attempt to construe them as being too friendly to

our people and as being a bid for Negro support.

Under strict construction of what he did say, colored men should not aspire to any public office within the gift of the government or permit their names to appear upon a ballot in any contest where the result of the election would result in their elevation to any body which has for its purpose the government of a county, city, state or nation. This then is the South's position and this is the position of the distinguished occupant of the gubernatorial mansion at Richmond. As a friend, he advised that colored men of the South do not attempt to antagonize or to reverse this position.

At the conclusion, he told those, who had a hopeless look upon their faces that there would come a time when there would be no discrimination on account of race or color. He stopped there. We can understand how this wealthy Virginian as an individual can hold these views and under his education and training, we would be surprised if he held any other. But there is a vast difference between social functions and public duties. The sworn obligation to recognize the civil and political equality of all men before the law is a part of both the state and national oath of office.

This accords to all men, both white and colored, Jew and Gentile, the right to participate in the affairs of this government and it is so recognized not only by His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, the chief of Democracy in this country, but also by the most influential leaders of the Democratic Party.

Under Gov. Stuart's rule of conduct, the scum of Europe would be allowed to participate in the affairs of this government, while the worthy off-spring of his black mammy and his faithful body-servant, both of whom believed in him, would be denied that privilege.

Gov. Stuart dwelt upon the importance of good character and reliability and in this he did his hearers a lasting service for too many of our leaders are living upon the credulity of both the white and colored people and they cannot be trusted behind a two-cent piece turned edge-wise.

Gov. Stuart was frank in his as-

sertions and there was no ground or excuse for a misconstruction of his remarks. We are equally so in discussing his address so replete with sound advice and containing but one false note and that was in the superiority of every white man regardless of his educational attainments or his moral character. When it comes to intruding upon the privacy of the family of this great Virginian, no colored person in the Southland would tolerate the idea for a moment.

There will be no jostling of the races here, for the average colored person would feel about as much out of place as an Indian would in the White House at Washington, but when it comes to the exercise of civil and business functions, we are face to face with another proposition. The colored race as a whole is hundreds of years behind the white race, but the colored man as an individual is certainly not as far behind all of the individual members of that celebrated caravan. Still, we have no inclination or desire to force our views with this distinguished Virginian or even to take issue with him.

He ranks with the great men of the country and if we are not mightily mistaken, future honors are in store for him. Still, we hope that foreign travel, the pondering of the histories of both the great nation and the leaders composing the same will tend to liberalize his views and enable him to recognize ability in any American citizen in this country first and then enquire as to his race and his color afterwards.

**NEGRO VOTES INCREASE
3-27-14 WHITES FALL OFF**
The Journal & Guide
New Certified List Shows Decrease of 1,052 White and Increase of 286 Colored Qualified To Register.

In a comparison of the certified list of poll tax payments in Norfolk city for 1913 with that of 1912 it is shown that the number of persons qualified to register for the city elections to be held June 9 is but 760 below the list used in the elections of November 4, 1913.

There is a falling off of 1,052 white voters, but the actual numerical loss in the new enrollment as compared with the old list is reduced to 760 by the addition of 292 colored men not on the qualified list last year.

These figures were given to The Journal and Guide and are said to have been obtained from a careful audit of the city treasurer's certified list recently published, and comparison with the figures of the preceding list.

Of the total falling off in the white list, 1,050, nearly half is in the wards where the "organization" has its stronghold—the old First, Second, Fourth and Ninth. The qualified vote of the Fourth and Ninth is, however, brought up above normal by the large increase in the number of Negroes on the certified list.

The following comparative table shows the poll tax payments by wards:

Wards	1912	1913
First ward	1,099	971
Second ward	897	736
Third ward	821	677
Fifth ward	1,567	1,334
Sixth ward	2,524	2,352
Seventh ward	947	955
Eighth ward	558	567
Tenth ward	427	384
Colored ward	286	578
Ninth & 4th wards	463	275

Totals.....9,589 8,829

LOUISVILLE, KY

TIMES-

OCT 12 1914

**NEGRO "DRY" WORKER
FINED AND DISFRANCHISED**

The Times Special Service.

Paris, Ky., Oct. 12.—As an aftermath of the "wet" and "dry" contest here W. D. Sledge, a negro "dry" worker, was arrested for buying registration certificates. His bondsmen were C. P. Cook, a Main-street grocer, and J. Simm Wilson.

merchant. In Judge McMillian's court Sledge was given a fine of \$50 and disfranchised. He in turn swore out warrants for Walter Fields, a prosecuting witness, charging him with selling his certificate and securing a duplicate from the county clerk, alleging he had lost the original.

Suffrage - 1914

IS DISFRANCHISEMENT CONCEALED IN PRIMARY LAWS?

"Is disfranchisement concealed in primary laws" has become a burning question in the Southern States and may be easily become one in all of the States of the Union where there are any considerable number of colored citizens. Each person born or naturalized is a citizen of the United States and of the State in which he resides, but this fact does not entitle him to vote. There are many qualifications he must have besides citizenship, among them enrollment as a member of some party organization authorized by law to place candidates for office in nomination to be voted for on party tickets. If a man does not belong to any party he cannot vote at any primary election, and if he votes for the election of candidates nominated by primary vote he must do so as a rank outsider, without any standing whatever as a partisan, and without any claim whatever upon the party or the candidates he may help to elect to office, from constable to President.

The question has been forced to the front by the very general adoption of the primary system of nominating candidates for public office, instead of the old convention system, and the requirement that no person can vote at a primary who is not a member of some one party; and because the new Governor of Virginia, Mr. Stuart, has recommended that the legislature adopt a law providing that "no person belonging to a class that has been excluded by the proper party authorities should be permitted to vote in the primaries of that party." Negroes are not permitted to vote in Democratic primaries. Gov. Stuart's recommendation, therefore, is an invitation to the Republican party of Virginia, which has no love for the Negro, to deny him party membership, as the Democrats and Progressives do, and thus exclude him from the right to vote in the primaries, or to be voted for, a system that would effectually disfranchise him, unless, as the Richmond Times says:

The New York Age 3-19-14.
While we cannot for a moment relax our vigilance we must not be precipitate. We must weigh all the considerations carefully, and must remember that if the Negroes be excluded from both the Republican and Democratic parties there is a possibility that they may organize a black man's party and acquire more or less influence as they qualify to vote. The Times-Dispatch would recommend in the light of present information, that this proposal be left open for future consideration.

Upon the heels of this recommendation by Gov. Stuart the Duval County Democratic Executive Committee has adopted the following resolution:

This Democratic County Executive Committee recommends and urges upon the State Democratic Executive Committee that they pass resolutions providing that only white Democrats be allowed to vote in the Democratic primary.

Has a political party the Constitutional right to exclude from its membership a person or ten thousand persons, who believe in its principles and desire to vote in its primary to nominate and at the regular election to elect, its candidates to public office? We do not believe that it has. A political party is not a social organization nor a private snap; it is an official agency legally authorized to promote certain public purposes affecting alike all of the people; it, therefore, has no Constitutional right to deny to any citizen, otherwise qualified to vote and who believes in the principles and policies of the party; he desires to affiliate with, the right to vote in the primary elections of the party, disbarment from such right working absolute disfranchisement of the person so discriminated against. We believe the Federal Supreme Court would so construe the question, without regard to the question of color. At any rate, it is up to the colored citizens to test the matter in the lowest and the highest courts having jurisdiction.

If Negroes otherwise qualified to vote are denied the right to do so in the primaries of one or all of the registered parties, it becomes a question of the first importance as to whether they should or should not organize a party of their own. In large cities like Baltimore, Richmond and Norfolk, where they have so much at stake in the apportionment of the common taxation for police and health supervision and for school maintenance and public improvements in their segregated schools and districts, the colored citizens will be forced, in self-defense, in the course of time, to have a party of their own in order to secure some measure of simple, plain, every-day justice. But no sensible colored person desires to have any such party, and those who force such an alternative upon them may know very well what they are doing

but estimate very badly the possible outcome of what they do.

It could not have been intended by the framers of the Federal Constitution that the qualifications of voters and control of Federal elections should be left to the regulation of the States, because a person derives his citizenship from the United States and should be protected in all of the rights appertaining to citizenship in the last analysis by the United States. Like the laws regulating marriage and divorce, the laws regulating voting should be the same in all of the States, and should be made by the Federal Government and not left to the whims and prejudices of the several States. To this complexion must the questions involved come at last.

Is disfranchisement concealed in the primary laws? We think so. The colored people cannot afford to sleep on the maxim that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." They should have organized civic leagues everywhere to keep alive the question of their citizenship and related rights, with stated meetings and eminent speakers able and willing to instruct the people.

THE NEGRO AND THE CHARTER

The enemies of the proposed new charter are using many schemes to bluff the Negro voters from voting for the new charter.

There is not a provision in the charter that is detrimental to the Negro, as these wise (?) men claim; on the contrary, the law-abiding, industrious, intelligent class of Negroes will be greatly benefited by many of the provisions.

"Look at the civil service provisions," cry these howlers against the new charter.

Yes, we are looking at them, and studying them, and every intelligent Negro will welcome competitive examinations that will place him in the service of the city on his merits, instead of on the favor of a ward committeeman, whose political slave he must be under the present system.

The intelligent, decent Negro does not fear to compete with any class of men.

The Central Afro-American urges every Negro with a spark of civic pride and love for the advancement of the race to vote and work for the new charter.

SUFFRAGE DAY DEMONSTRATIONS.

The Chicago Defender 5-9-14.
CHEERS MARKED EVERY MOVEMENT of the pageant of suffragists, as nearly thirty-five hundred strong they marched down Michigan boulevard behind the inspiring music of the bands, in truly military fashion. This is the first big demonstration held by the women since Illinois granted them suffrage. Every courtesy was shown the marchers by the city officials and the public showed their hearty approval by turning out enmasse and applauding them generously. All this is in striking contrast to the treatment accorded them in other cities, which goes to prove that Chicagoans are liberal and gallant. Quite a sprinkling of race women were to be seen, a tangible proof that the movement is based on sound principles. In the sisterhood of the ballot women of all worldly station, nationality, color, creed or political faith should be linked together, if for no other reason than in union there is strength, for at present they are but in their toddling clothes. They have gained much, but there is still more to be wished for. Like in all large unwieldy bodies, dissensions have arisen and many have been the factional fights, but the women are determined and the men are willing to aid them, so success is assured. More of our women should identify themselves with the movement. It is a great step in the uplift work.

tion reports.

INTELLIGENCE

From.....

Published at..... WHEELING, W. VA.

Date.....

COLORED VOTERS IN BIG MEETING

CLAY DISTRICT GATHERING OF
VOTERS TO BE MONDAY
EVENING.

Prominent Local Men Will Deliver
Addresses During the Evening
—Much Interest Manifested

All voters of Clay district are urged to attend a meeting to be held Monday evening in the Sands building on Eleventh street. Speakers of unusual ability will be in attendance including such personages as Attorney F. A. O'Brien, Assistant Prosecuting Attorney D. A. McKee, and candidate for State Senate, Ben. L. Rosenbloom. From all indications this will be a very well attended meeting and unusual interest is being shown. This will mark the beginning of several similar district meetings to be held during the campaign. According to the evening "Mooser" there is a split among the different race voters of the district, but this will be proven to be false Monday evening.

SPEAKING EAST ON EQUAL SUFFRAGE

HON. J. C. MANNING OF BIRMINGHAM PLEADS CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND IS HEARD BY LARGE CROWDS IN BOSTON AND PROVIDENCE.

NEGRO AND POOR WHITES

The Voice of the People
Alike Suffer From Unjust Election Laws Applauds His Stand.

Reports in the Boston Guardian show that the Hon. Joseph C. Manning of this city is constantly delivering his message with reference to equal suffrage rights to large audiences of white and colored people in

the east and that on all occasions he is given a representative hearing. In a recent issue of that publication, the following specials are noted:

From New Bedford.

Hon. Joseph C. Manning, who arrived here last night from Providence, R. I., at 11 p. m., found a great meeting waiting his arrival at the meeting of the Independent Colored Voters League, and those who heard him heard a speech such as has not been delivered here in all these years. Mr. Manning spoke a hour. Hon. David L. Parker, who was present, remarked that he had never seen a speaker so hold and arouse an audience and that it was most remarkable when it was considered that the hearers had waited for such a late hour. Eloquence, argument, sarcasm, invective, humor and earnest appeal, that rose to the highest element of oratory, were features of one of the greatest political addresses ever heard by those present. Mr. Manning spoke on new lines, but pressing the same great cause of ballot rights and equal justice.

From Providence, R. I.

Never before has an audience given any speaker in this city a greater ovation than was given Hon. Joseph C. Manning last night by a cheering throng that packed the hall to its capacity. Mr. Manning was at his best and struck so strongly and clearly with his unanswerable argument and arraignment that it took his hearers by storm. Seldom has there been such a demonstration in this city and the speech is the talk of Providence. Both races were represented in the audience and the speech had great effect.

Heard at Cambridge.

The Cambridge Lyceum of the Rush Zion A. M. E. church, Rev. T. E. Auten, pastor, heard Hon. Joseph C. Manning of Alabama, Wednesday night in his great address on the right solution of the southern problem. For an hour he interested and instructed and aroused the people present. Those who heard Mr. Manning join in the belief that his work in the north will bring this great question into national discussion.

His view of the question is agreed by those who heard him to be the way out. The thoughtful and eloquent appeal will long be remembered. Those who have heard Mr. Manning before, among those present last night, say that his speech was along new and even stronger lines than previous addresses.

MAYOR KIEL AND THE NEGRO VOTER.

The Central Afro American 10/17/16
In these days of speculation and preparation under the New City Charter, many rumors are rife as to the attitude of Mayor Kiel toward the Negro wing of the Republican Party. The enemies of the Negro are freely predicting that the Mayor will not dare to keep Party pledges, or deal fair and square with the Negro, for fear of adverse criticism from members of his own party, as well as from the Democrats.

We have entered into the strife of each campaign with which Mayor Kiel has been actively identified, and consistently supported his policies with voice, time and money, such as we had, and our confidence in the ability of Mayor Kiel to rise above prejudice and petty jealousies is not yet destroyed, but we confess that the situation has not visibly brightened upon the prospects of fair and honorable recognition of the Negro Republican voters. We do not expect the Mayor to lay bare his plans, but that some definite action looking to the reward of the thousands of Negroes who have been so loyal should have been taken, all fair-minded men will freely admit. In the readjustment of the various City departments, many changes have been made under the New Charter provisions, but no action has been taken, or mention whatever made of the Negro.

The Republican Party can no longer ignore the fact, that the Negro race has not been properly rewarded for their consistent, loyal service, and that the future success of the Party very largely depends upon the prompt redemption of promises unfulfilled.

The younger generation of Negroes are beginning to dominate the political affairs of the race, and he cannot be held or "whipped" into line as his father has been, because slavery is only a matter of history to him, while it was a ghastly, living memory to his father.

The Negroes are getting restless and suspicious, and unless Mayor Kiel turns a deaf ear to prejudiced politicians, and gives the Negro substantial recognition in honor and justice, we fear that it will only require the siren voice of another Roosevelt to lead the Negroes off, in their longing for justice and fair treatment.

The old adage that, "reward sweetens labor" holds good in the field of political endeavor also, and the Negro pleads guilty to being human, with the same desires and ambitions as other races, while he is quietly waiting to see where Mayor Kiel stands on the proposition of fair and just recognition.

CONGRESSIONAL NEGLIGENCE.

ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING INCIDENTS of the dedicatory exercises of the laying of the cornerstone for the new Eighth Regiment armory last Sunday was when Major Lynch, during the course of his remarks, called attention to the fact that through congressional negligence colored men living south of Mason and Dixon's line, cannot become identified with the national guard and many of them north of that line are similarly situated. Congressman Martin B. Madden, who had previously spoken, at this juncture arose and asked permission of Major Lynch to allow him to make a statement, which, of course, the major graciously granted. He said: "I agree with what Major Lynch has said, but that Congress is now practically controlled by the sons of Confederate soldiers. I hope that some day in the future, when the Republican party is again restored to power, the evils complained of will be remedied." Major Lynch, in continuance of his remarks, mildly apologized for being even the innocent occasion of anything of a political nature being interjected at this time. He said he was very well aware of the conditions referred to by the congressman, but

his purpose was to call attention to the grave injustice involved and to let the public know that the colored people are not satisfied and it is their duty to take such steps as will bring to the notice of all parties the existence of this state of affairs with the view of having the same remedied. From one point of view it would seem that we are over anxious to offer our services to protect a class of people who offer no protection to us. And then when we stop to think this is a very narrow view, we are creating ourselves out of what rightly belongs to us. When we take up arms in defense of this country, we are defending our own people and our own homes and interests. Let us not by word or action give the impression that we are wards or that we have not as much if not more right to this soil as any other people. Upon every occasion our forceful speakers should drive the thought home to those in authority, that we are dissatisfied and will be until we are in full possession of our civil and political rights. Major Lynch always puts the right "punch" in his remarks, and speakers of the opposite race who precede or follow him oftentimes have difficulty in explaining their true position and more often are keyed up to doing things favorable to the race that they perhaps never dreamed of doing. Of course, we all know the personnel of the present Congress, so must sit still and not rock the boat.

The Fifteenth Amendment
The Journal Guide
Now comes Senator Borah, a Republican senator from Idaho, with the idiotic declaration in congress that the passage of the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States was a blunder. The fifteenth amendment conferred upon the ex-slaves the right to vote. We don't know anything about Senator Borah's antecedents, nor the place of his birth, but we have an idea that his is a case of spasmodic explosion on the race question by one who does not know his subject. If our recollection is clear he has been heard once before in congress in the same vein, and when he has anything to say on the color question one can scarcely distinguish it from the braying of a certain wild ass from Mississippi that occupies a seat in the United States Senate. So, that august body contains many misfits and some misnomers. There are such as Tilman, Hoke Smith, Vardaman and some others who are such imps of hell that to print their names here might burn a hole in the page.

But to return to the subject. Senator Borah says that the fifteenth amendment is a dead letter, since it is not enforced in any state in the union. That is true, and it is due very much to the prevalence in American politics of such men as

the Idaho Senator. The fifteenth amendment may be a dead letter in spirit but it is not in law, thanks to a dormant spirit of fair play which exists in the hearts of the great majority of Americans. And it will not be repealed. On the other hand, where it has been nullified by consent and connivance, it is being gradually restored to its functions, and in God's own time it will become as inviolate as any other part of our constitution.

It is too late now to deplore the enfranchisement of the American Negro. Even if it was done, as alleged by Senator Borah, "in a spirit of retaliation," it was a good thing for the Negro and for the American people. If it had not been written into the constitution when it was, it never would have gotten there, and notwithstanding its evasion, which Senator Borah admits and applauds, it has kept the Negro in possession of the rights and liberties gained by his emancipation.

To an American senator who has not the courage to deal with the race question in accordance with tenets and doctrines of justice and righteousness that are as old as Mount Sinai, the adoption of the fifteenth amendment may have been a blunder, but it will hardly be repealed and its work can not be permanently undone.

A NATIONAL PARTY'S SHAME

The Southern Republican
The recent recommendation of the National Republican Committee in which it is proposed to reduce the number of delegates, especially from the South, in future National Conventions, is shameful to say the least. Not having courage to demand through its representatives in Congress a fair and equitable adjustment of existing political conditions in Dixie it now seeks to throw the Negro overboard. Doing this it hopes to make greater headway in winning the Southern white man to an acceptance of its policies and thus secure his support. This is the reward it gives its faithful black adherents. Regardless of the fact that he has been true to the party; that he has frequently sealed his devotion thereunto with his life's blood; that he has foolishly turned his back upon his white neighbors, forcing them to resort to methods necessary to waive their political supremacy, and of which they themselves were ashamed—the party now says, "we are through with you; we need you no longer." Shades of Phillip Garrison, Lincoln and others, who in the years gone by advocated, fought and died that all men might be free and equal!

Surely a Pharaoh has come to the throne that knows not Joseph. The Negro has been betrayed and wounded in the house of his friends. Instead of giving him bread they have given him a stone. Rather than do right that the greatest number possible may be helped the party prefers to do wrong that the few may be benefited.

As we see it there is no need for the action contemplated. What should be done, if any-

thing along this line, is the advocacy of a reduction of the number of Congressmen from the South. But even to this we are opposed for that would ultimately result in the legal disfranchisement of the Negro. The thing to be done is the enforcement of the constitution which guarantees to every man not disqualified by law—criminal, not political law—the right of a free and untrammelled use of the ballot. If the Republican Party has not the courage to demand and see that this is done, then the sooner it winds up its affairs and goes out of business the better.

As to its winning voters in the South it had just as well hope to be restored to power without the form of an election, as to hope to succeed. The white man of the South is democratic by birth, education, tradition and otherwise. He will ever remain so, all political efforts to the contrary notwithstanding.

But the deed is done. Let us await with patience the final act. God still reigns and the government at Washington is safe.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

The Atlanta Independent
At first blush we thought but little of the proposition to bestow upon women the right to vote, but the more we have thought over the question the more inclined we are to place them upon an equal footing with men. When we understand that the women of this country own at least three-sevenths of the aggregate wealth of the nation and that they have no voice in the making of the laws that impose taxes and afford protection to life, happiness and property, we can hardly escape the conclusion that she should be placed upon an equal footing with men so long as she is taxed and must contribute in common with him to the support of the government. We do not believe in the policy of taxation without representation. We believe that every citizen whether black or white, male or female that

contributes in any way to the support of the government ought to have a voice in the administration of its affairs and in the disbursement of the funds that the citizen is taxed to contribute to. And standing upon this

broad principle of equal justice to all men and special privileges to none, and upon that fundamental principle of free institution, no taxation without representation, we find ourselves agreeing with President Roosevelt that the women ought to have the right to vote.

Judging it from a race standpoint, the Negro women are more fitted to vote than the men. The white women are making an able and patriotic fight for the ballot, and the Negro women of the country ought to join them in their effort. It is coming. It may not get here today, and it may not be tomorrow, but in the fitness of time the right to vote will be conferred upon women in common with men. The right is not an inherited one, it

is a conferred one, created by the law and conferred upon those that the law selects to enjoy its privilege. The white women are not making the fight for votes for white women only, but for women. And so long as the proposition is based upon this broad principle of Christian philanthropy and fair play, every black man and woman should stand for the triumph of the principle. White women are better than white men. They have more heart, more sympathy and more humanity in their character. They would not stand as voters for the inhumanity and the atrocities inflicted upon the Negro as white men do. And as a general proposition women are better than men, purer in their lives, more innocent in their thoughts

and more upright in their dealings. There is far more virtue in the life of a woman than in the life of a man. Therefore, she would make a better elector; we would have better laws, and the public morals would breathe a healthier atmosphere if legislation had the beneficial influence of woman. The argument made by Vardaman and his stripe that the South would oppose woman's suffrage so long as the possibility of Negro women voting was held out is to be expected. Under the leadership of the Vardamans, the South has opposed every progressive and constructive movement since emancipation. The South has stood broadside in the way of the Negro's uplift and his progress politically. In industries it has discriminated against him wherever it was possible. The South was against freedom and stood for slavery. It was against the enfranchisement of the Negro, and it

has sought on every occasion and by every subterfuge to nullify the 14th and 15th amendment to the Federal Constitution. The South has Jim Crowed and discriminated against the Negro in legislation, and surrounded him with barriers and prohibitions that has made it difficult for him to succeed industrially, economically and politically. The position of the Bleed-Vardaman stripe of politician is but quite natural and consistent with their lives of opposition and objection to everything that means the material progress of the black citizen.

Women are equally as intelligent as men, and are entitled to life, liberty and happiness in common with their brothers. They own property, pay taxes and contribute in every way to the material progress of the country, and why should they not have a voice in making the laws to protect their property? If the right to vote is conferred upon women, it will materially help the South. The Negro men will be made to perform their duty and develop in themselves, by reason of the patriotism of their wives, a civic virtue and interest they do not now possess. The white men will be less brutal at the polls, and the Negro can vote without the fear of intimidation, or molestation, for the reason that his esteem and respect for his wife will impell him to take no action or use no language that would insult her sensibilities.

Let us have woman's suffrage. Let us grant our sisters the same right to vote and to make laws for the protection of their lives, property and happiness that we arrogate to ourselves. We have nothing to lose. We are the stronger sex. They will not dominate us. Then, too, we will wield an influence over them by reason of being the head of the house that will ever act against whatever weakness that may lie dormant in woman.

All Voters Must Register This Year
The Savannah Tribune
3-21-14

NEW LAW REQUIRES THIS FOR REGISTRATION

Books Will Remain Open Until April 7th—Cannot Vote in Coming Election Unless You Register This Year

Atlanta, March 17—While it is true Georgia's permanent registration law has gone into effect, voters in this state must not overlook the fact that in order to be registered permanently they must register this year. Registration

prior to enactment of the law will not do. The law was passed by the Legislature at its last summer's session to go into effect with the new registration year and the voter who wants to be registered for all time must register now.

As the result of the new law and the fact that this is a political year which is likely to be a very lively one, there is little doubt about the fact that there will be a heavy registration list in Georgia in 1914.

When the voter registers this year under the new law his name will remain on the registration books for all time, unless he fails to pay his taxes or is convicted of a crime or his name is removed for some other cause. If he registers in one county and later on moves to another one, all he has to do is to get a transfer certificate from the tax collector and his permanent registration is established at his new home.

The registration books for this year's election, that is the general state elections which take place on the first Wednesday in October will close on April 7. Under the law the registration books must close six months in advance of the state election for governor and state house offices. Thus, every voter who registers between now and April 7 becomes permanently registered and will not have to bother about the question of registration any more until for some reason he disqualifies himself or changes his place of residence.

There are still thousands of Georgians who have not registered for this year and many of them doubtless do not realize that the time is so short. It is true that they can become permanently registered by registering at any time during the year, but if they desire to participate in this year's elections they must be registered on or before April 7.

Many Georgians have frequently overlooked the fact that the new law requires registration six months in advance of the state election. Through their failure to comply with the law they have lost the right to vote. Attention is called to this law far in advance of every election held in the state, and still there are many who overlook it until too late.

APR 19 1914

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AT THE NEGRO P

Senator Vardaman Outlines the Conditions Upon Which He Will Vote for the Enfranchisement of Women—The Repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment Essential So Far as the South Is Concerned.

By JAMES K. VARDAMAN.

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MISSISSIPPI, IN THE PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC LEDGER.

I am not opposed to women voting, but I am opposed to unrestricted suffrage being extended to women such as was proposed in the defeated resolution. My position when the subject was before the senate was that the state should decide who should be given the ballot. In order to make it possible for the South to support the resolution I proposed an amendment abolishing the fifteenth amendment to the Federal constitution. Without the negro being eliminated from suffrage the South cannot accept a nation-wide suffrage law.

I am not one of those who share the apprehension that women will be injured by giving her the ballot; nor do I believe that her participation in politics will lower the standard of citizenship or result detrimentally to the country. The truth about the matter is, I believe, the inherent virtues and superior qualities of woman will necessarily improve anything with which she has to do. I think we are indebted to her more for what has been accomplished in America than we are to man. I would rather rely upon her intuition to lead me right; I would rather trust her heart than the ratiocinations or the painful logical processes of man.

That she will become a voter in all the states of this republic in the very near future I have no more doubt than I have that tomorrow's sun will rise. That the ballot will be purified; that the influences surrounding polling places will be improved; that the moral sentiment her sacred presence will generate will write more just and wiser laws, I have not the slightest doubt, because her influences are always elevating, always purifying, always ennobling. When the time shall come that women want to vote, when the women of the different states desire the ballot, it will be placed into their hands.

In some of the states, however, a large majority of the white women do not care to vote at this time. That is, in

some of the states the conditions are such that white women would not go to the polls if permitted by law to do so. In the settlement of this question I would prefer, and I think it would be infinitely better and more in accord with the original plan upon which our government is builded, to leave the matter with the states. It is my great privilege to represent, in part, in the senate a state where conditions are such that the women who ought to vote in the very nature of things could not and would not go to the polls.

A decent white woman will not put herself in a position where she is to be elbowed, pushed around and insulted by a vulgar, vicious and ignorant negro woman, who has no more conception of the importance or the significance of the elective franchise than the chimpanzee is capable of comprehending or understanding the nebular hypothesis. The question may be asked why, if negro men are capable of voting, why not the negro women? To one who understands the nature of the negro an answer to that question is superfluous. Neither the man nor the woman is capable of performing properly the supreme function of citizenship, but the negro man is much more easily controlled, less turbulent and more tractable. Verily, "the female of the species is more deadly than the male" in this instance. I think the most lawless and abandoned creature on earth is the drunken, insolent negro woman. And further, the white man has the physical strength and ability to command obedience and defend himself. And the negro man knows that and acts accordingly.

It is unfortunate that when an economic or governmental question is presented the people of the South are confronted at once with that paramount problem the race question. This question has resulted in the political isolation of the southern states. The white people cannot divide at all on economic issues in those states. There are probably 50,000 more adult male negroes in Mississippi than there are white men, and fully 60,000 more negro women than there are white women. A large majority of the negroes

are congenitally, racially and unalterably incompetent and unfit to perform the supreme function of citizenship. You cannot educate them so as to make them capable of governing the white man, either.

That accounts for the fact that our white women naturally shrink, involuntarily recoil, from participation in those public or civic functions which usually belong to men. It is the overwhelming influence which prevents them from considering the question of participating in government at the ballot box. Remove that barrier, take that impediment away, and then the women of Mississippi, the women of Arkansas, and the women of the other southern states, where the great problem is in its most acute, intense, aggravated and difficult form, may consider the question of participating with their brothers, their husbands and their fathers in matters of government.

While these conditions exist the only safe way to approach women suffrage is through the individual states and not by forcing it upon states that are not ready for it. If Illinois, if Pennsylvania, if any state in the republic wants to give women the suffrage equal with the men, they have the right under their state constitution to do so. There is no difficulty about that. What will suit the people of one state may not be adaptable to conditions in another state. If you are going to preserve the Federal Union, if you are going to preserve that harmony so essential to perfect government, you must maintain, you must preserve inviolate, the autonomy, the sovereignty of the states by permitting them to exercise the sovereign power of regulating the suffrage, giving to men, and giving to women, if they see fit, the right to vote.

I proposed the repeal of the fifteenth amendment, and had my amendment been adopted I should have voted for the suffrage resolution. The fifteenth amendment was not adopted for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the negro. It was one of the cruel, remorseless acts which resulted from war, designed to punish the white man and to use the negro as a pliant tool by which the country was plundered and the people of the Southland humiliated. It was the child of hate. It has no place in the economy of this government.

The fifteenth amendment has outlived its usefulness, if there was ever any use for it. I believe the American people are agreed that an error was committed when the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were adopted, and I believe that when the question is properly presented to them they are going to correct that error. The time to correct all mistakes is now. Until those grave mistakes are corrected the women of the South will not seek the privilege of voting.

Philadelphia Record

1 July 1914

NEGROES ASK FAIR PLAY

Civil and Political League Declares Against Discrimination.

In Varick Institutional Temple, Nineteenth and Catharine streets, an all-day convention was held yesterday under the auspices of the National Independent Civil and Political Negro League and many speakers discussed the problems that confront the colored race. About 1800 people attended including representatives from various sections of the State, and Rev. S. L. Carrorten, the president, presided. Speakers of the afternoon included Professor R. R. Wright, Jr., W. S. Gibson, Dr. C. A. Lewis, Mrs. Maize M. Griffin, Mrs. Mary S. Tribbitt and Aev. Lena Mason.

The evening session was addressed by Rev. C. A. Findley, ex-Congressman H. White and Rev. Lena Mason. A lengthy declaration of sentiment was adopted by the convention which set forth the necessity for stable leadership and proper organization to teach the negro the importance and value of the ballot and citizenship. The declaration concludes with the following demands:

We demand fuller recognition politically according to our numerical strength. We demand the open doors of opportunity in the workshops, factories and other lines of industrial employment. We demand equal privileges in the enjoyment of our civil rights as any other American citizens and think it unfair and un-American to be discriminated against simply on account of the complexion of our skin or the texture of our hair, and to that end we demand the introduction and passage by our next Legislature an adequate civil rights bill. We are unalterably opposed to segregation in any form and especially in the public schools of this city and State. We demand the appointment of colored and white teachers in the public schools of this Commonwealth. We are opposed to men who seek office who favor discriminations or segregations. We demand an equal share proportionately in the emoluments of public office according to our numerical strength.

from CHRONICLE, HOUSTON, TEX.

Published at

Date

NEGROES ACTIVE FOR BOND ISSUE

A committee has issued the following appeal urging all voters of the negro race to go to the polls on Wednesday and cast their ballots for the bond issues:

"We feel it the duty of every negro voter to vote for the entire bond issue, on Wednesday, October 28.

"Every issue should appeal to every thoughtful negro.

"They are as follows:

"1. Three million dollars to be used to build wharves, terminals and warehouses on the Ship Channel. These are absolutely necessary if the channel is to be of any earthly use.

"2. One million dollars for extend-

ing and developing Houston's sanitary sewers. The policy of the present administration is to deal fairly and justly with every section of the city, and we speak with full assurance that the negro sections of the city will be given consideration in the extension of the sewer system of Houston.

"This administration recognizes the importance of sanitary conditions being good in every section of Houston if the general health is to be protected.

"3. One million for general drainage will enable the city to continue the drainage work already undertaken in every part of Houston.

"4. Two hundred thousand dollars for additional school buildings. Out of this fund two colored school buildings already in contemplation will be built. These two buildings are much needed to relieve the overcrowded conditions in the Third and Fifth ward colored schools.

"5. Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for park improvements. The colored citizens have had full assurance through Hon. Ben Campbell that the city is desirous of providing suitable park facilities.

"All of these propositions is carried into execution mean a greater Houston.

"Those who have studied the matter of increased taxation assure us that the wharfage charges will more than offset the additional tax required to pay off the bonds as they may fall due.

"The negro who is a small taxpayer will, in proportion to tax paid, be the most benefited by these improvements.

"When oceangoing vessels come to Houston, as if by magic, there will spring up mills, factories, foundries and warehouses. These mean a greater demand for common labor at better pay.

"The common laborer of all citizens of Houston should be most concerned in whatever makes for the city's growth and prosperity. The representative business men are, as a rule, advocating the issuance of these bonds. These men are the surest guides, and we counsel our people to stand with them in this election.

"Let every negro voter go to the polls October 28 and vote for every proposition.

"In proportion as we stand for the growth of our city will we be given consideration. We are making for a training school for our neglected and wayward children, and the greatest appeal we can make is to follow the lead of our friends of the dominant race.

SENATOR SHERMAN SPEAKS—COLORED MEN IN RACE—SUPREME CHANCELLOR GREEN IN CITY—LINCOLN GIANTS HERE SUNDAY.

CHICAGO, Ill. (Special) — United States Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman delivered an address on Sunday night at Bethel A. M. E. church under the auspices of Bethel Literary. Mr. Fitts presided at the meeting and Hon. Adelbert H. Roberts introduced the speaker. Senator Sherman spoke on the Constitution and its amendments and discussed at length the "war amendments" and those giving the Afro-American the right to vote, also his opposition to the bills that were presented in the last Congress abridging the rights of the race. There was a large attendance.

THE PRIMARY AND ITS COST.

The Des Moines Capital has found that the direct primary system, which is yet new in Iowa, is most expensive to the candidates. Alabama, which has had the direct primary system for twelve years, found that out long ago. But what are you going to do about it? The American people want the direct primary, they are extending it year by year until only a few States hang back from the establishment of a complete system. But like all human institutions, it has its faults. Still it stands, in the minds of the people, as a necessary instrument for direct and real self-government:

Iowa is getting ready for primaries all over the State and it is figured out that fully 5,000 men are candidates for the various county offices. Says the "Capital":

As a rule, the salaries are not above \$1,500 per year. Campaign expenses cannot be reckoned at less than \$500 per man. Thus there will be expended in the Iowa primary campaign this year a quarter of a million dollars. This is an enormous amount of money to be poured out in politics, but the boys are having a good time. The candidates who are chosen will spend another quarter of a million in the election. Maybe this is what is the matter with Iowa. It is astonishing to find so many men willing to spend their time and money for insignificant offices, knowing that they will have to contribute to every committee which calls upon them whether they desire to do so or not. It is a great game.

Alabama has closed a long and weary campaign; it was, too, a costly campaign for both State and county candidates. It would be well within the mark to say that in the past year candidates of all classes, State, county, Congressional and Senatorial have spent four hundred thousand dollars. That looks like an appalling sum, an impossible sum, but men well informed in politics say that if the expenses of the local and other candidates were all lumped together, the total would be close to four hundred thousand dollars.

The man who runs for a State office in Alabama, no matter if he wins, comes out of the contest sickened and disgusted. He is amazed at the demands made upon him for money, some of them legitimate, but often they are not legitimate. Unless he has had actual experience, he would not have believed that so many demands could be made upon a candidate. Nor had he any idea that there was a considerable number of parasites, who have the vote, and who live off the body politic, with the vote as their chief asset.

Again, it has been estimated that it takes about \$5,000 to send a circular letter to every voter in Alabama. A candidate for Governor or Senator must do this at least once and usually two or three times. There must be a campaign of newspaper advertising, which will cover the State. Such a campaign eats up money rapidly. The maintenance of headquarters with a competent staff requires another considerable sum. Then on election day, some means must be taken to "get out the vote," a term which, according

to rumor, has an elastic meaning. But money can be spent legitimately and honestly for workers, to see that the voters who are "right" come to the polls. Nor must the item of the traveling expenses of speakers be overlooked; it is no inconsiderable item.

Of course the candidate for the minor State and county offices do not have such expenses, but they have expenses in proportion to the importance of their offices which they seek. And, from the beginning to the end of the campaign the candidates are under a heavy fire to "pay, pay." The time is near at hand in which political life will be only for the man with the long pocket book. And in this is the unfortunate feature of the direct primary system, which, however, is destined to remain as there is no satisfactory substitute in sight.

Constitution 7-28-14
GA., TUESDAY, JULY 28,

Are Georgia Suffragists Fighting Women?

Editor Constitution: I thank you for the tribute given Mrs. Mary L. McLendon in your editorial of Friday, the 24th, but I do object to the term "A Fighting Woman."

It is a misnomer. It does not represent the status of the good women of Georgia who are members of the Georgia Woman's Suffrage association. It has a militant twang—that is unfair, to say the least of it, outside of Great Britain.

If you had said, "a woman devoted to the cause of woman suffrage—state and national," you would have been within the facts and nearer to the actual condition of affairs.

I agree with you that it is only a question of time when Georgia will qualify the virtue and (largely) the intelligence of the state for the ballot privilege.

I would be pleased to know that intelligent Georgians could now bear tribute to the loyalty, the affection and the qualifications of their devoted mothers and wives, sisters and daughters. They are hindered by the majority in our state legislature, which has also hindered the operation of a needed dog law and which cares so little for womenkind that the age of consent in Georgia is kept down to the 10-year limit. To speak plainly, your legislative members assume that a 10-year-old girl child is amply capable of protecting her virtue from the white slaver and the rapist, black or white. A body that is controlled by such men is impotent to advance either the progress or prosperity of the Empire State of the South.

Their apathy or indifference or ignorance has made Georgia's illiteracy a by-word from ocean to ocean and from the big lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. Because the intelligent men and women of this commonwealth are kept in bondage to a class that represents nothing so much as their own inefficiency and ignorance, the women of this suffrage association are struggling to assist those who pay the taxes and bear the burdens of government, and it goes without saying that they will aid the good men of Georgia after the federal union issues a decree that will enfranchise women throughout the United States.

It would be more agreeable, more chivalric and more characteristic of southern

sentiment (which assumes to be the proud protector of southern wives and mothers) for the state of Georgia to accord to its white women what it gave to the black negro men of the state nearly fifty years ago. But if the aforesaid majority still withholds from its own households what it allows to negro voters, we must look to the federal law, which will enfranchise women by a two-thirds majority in all the states of the union. This legislature was only asked to allow the men voters of Georgia to vote upon the question of equal suffrage. They were only requested to allow the subject discussed and voted on by the men of Georgia.

With characteristic effrontery they proposed to "be the people" and shut off the light! Ten states and one territory have already enfranchised their women. As many more will be in line by 1916, with the principle of woman suffrage fully established; for there are only seventeen states in this country now which have not, at this time, given the ballot in some form to the women of the country.

China has enfranchised its women and thrown off the selfish apathy of centuries.

We, in Georgia, are in a peculiar condition, common only to the late slave-holding states. With the race question always present we are now outlawed by every political party in the union in regard to negro suffrage and negro office holding.

The appointment of a colored judge in Washington city and the confirmation of the colored judge by the northern democrats this year, aided by the convenient absence of Stone, of Missouri, both Virginia senators, Tillman of South Carolina (who was present and not voting), one Texas senator, Clarke of Arkansas, a Maryland senator, and a Kentucky senator, demonstrates to a certainty that negro office holding is paramount in every state except a few that are worse than helpless in the old south. The president of the United States made the appointment, every senator but twenty yielded to the president's wishes, and these voting southern senators made no outcry, but simply registered their vote against the colored judge.

I say to you, Mr. Editor, that the time is near at hand when you will call for the assistance that your wives and mothers can give you. The principle of white supremacy has been surrendered in every state in the union except those here mentioned.

MRS. W. H. FELTON.

Cartersville, Ga., July 25, 1914.

**SUFFRAGE MEASURE
BEATEN IN SENATE
WITH VOTE CLOSE**

Although Bill Gets Majority of
One, Two-thirds Majority
Was Needed to
Carry

**VARDAMAN LEADS FIGHT
FOR AMENDMENT REPEAL**

Mississippi Senator Fails to Get His Pet Measure Through

Upper Branch
Advertiser 3-19-14

WASHINGTON, March 19—Woman suffrage advocates today lost their fight in the United States Senate for a resolution proposing an amendment to the Federal Constitution giving women the ballot. The vote was 35 for the measure to 34 against it, a two-thirds affirmative vote being required for passing, and when it was over, suffragist leaders jubilantly pointed to the majority of one as conclusive proof that their cause had scored a triumph in defeat, and was immeasurably stronger than its opponents ever had been willing to concede.

Today's action, following weeks of debate on the floor of the Senate, during which many leaders in the suffrage movement pleaded for postponement of the final vote, marked the climax of a spirited campaign launched here the day before the inauguration of President Wilson.

Immediately after the vote, Senator Shafroth, of Colorado, sought to introduce a new resolution for a Constitutional Amendment requiring each State to vote on granting suffrage to women, on petition from five per cent of its voters. The Senate went into executive session before the Senate could get the floor, however, and the resolution will be offered later.

The resolution defeated today was the first introduced in the present Congress. It was presented by Senator Chamberlain and the Suffrage Committee later urged Senator Ashurst to report it favorably.

Though otherwise the vote virtually was non-partisan, the Southern Senators, all Democrats, lined up almost solidly against the amendment. They contended it would complicate the negro question in the States. Of the Southerners, only Senators Ransdell of Louisiana, Shappard of Texas, and Lea of Tennessee, voted for the resolution.

Vardaman Leads.

Senator Vardaman led a movement among the friends of woman suffrage in the South to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution by which the States are prohibited from denying negroes the right to vote. With the negro question removed, he said, he favored the granting of suffrage to women. His proposal was defeated, 49 to 19, and a proposition by Senator Williams to give the ballot to white women only was defeated, 44 to 21.

The vote was preceded by a three-hour kaleidoscopic debate on the various phases of suffrage. Senator Martine, of New Jersey, was the only member who said he was opposed to woman suffrage on principle. He declared the participation of women in politics had failed to purify the ballot, and that it would be a sad and sorry day for both women and men when they were given the ballot universally. The speeches of suffrage senators, he added, had impressed in his mind the wonder if they found objection to the "Savior for not choosing six of the Apostles from among the women."

Senator Gallinger declared it would be a crime to repeal the fifteenth amendment, even if it were a blunder to have passed it. Senator Townsend insisted it was no blunder to have passed it, and added it was not necessary to do injustice to the negro to do justice to women. Senator Newlands declared he favored making this a white man's country so as to shut out the Japanese as well as the negro, but questioned the propriety of doing that on a woman suffrage proposition. Mrs. Medill McCormick, chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, issued a statement tonight claiming the majority vote as a victory.

"For the first time in fifty years," she said, "the women of America demonstrated their impression upon the United States Senate. It is a sign of the times and it portends that all womanhood in this country will be emancipated within this generation."

A statement issued by Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, regretted "that the Democratic leaders in charge of the suffrage amendment in the Senate allowed that measure to be wrecked for the time being, by forcing it to a premature vote." Miss Paul added that the union hoped that in the two or three months remaining before the session closes, Congress would reconsider its action.

How They Voted.

Senators who voted for the Vardaman resolution proposing repeal of the fifteenth amendment were: Bryan, Williams, Vardaman, Ransdell, Lea of Tennessee, Lee of Maryland, Shields, Overman, Smith of South Carolina, Smith of Georgia, West, Tillman, Shephard, Martin, Swanson, Myers, Gore and Reed.

Nashville, Tennessee
Nov 2 1914

NEGRO VOTE IN PRESENT RACE

Old Time Republican Party
Lash Will Not Drive
Them.

THE THINKING NEGROES

Leaders of Race Beginning to
Realize That Democrats
of South Are Negro's
Real Friends.

By D. WELLINGTON BERRY.
What will be the proportionate vote among the negroes in Tennessee for each gubernatorial candidate in Tuesday's election?
A careful investigation will show that for several years past there has been a steadily increasing tendency upon the

part of the negro voter to become more and more independent as to the exercise of his franchise. This is acknowledged by the leading negroes of Tennessee who will speak from an unbiased standpoint. Not only is the negro becoming more independent as to the exercise of this franchise, but he is also becoming to be more capable of giving his reasons for such independence.

Leaders among the negro race years ago urged that members of the race should divide politically. At that time, however, such advice was not heeded, but instead, such persons giving such advice were denounced as being traitors to their race, so firmly did the negro believe that to vote any other ticket than the republican ticket would be perpetrating a great crime against his race. As time went on, and especially as the democrat voter was seen to fuse with the republican voter when he thought it best to do so, the negro voter found himself occasionally supporting a democrat when he felt it to his best interest to do so. When a candidate on the democratic ticket was known to be willing to encourage the black man to become a good and useful citizen, for instance, the habit of voting for democrats by negroes thus grew, and today, it is generally conceded by the thinking negroes that those among the race, who from a conscientious belief, vote against a republican, is no more to be blamed than he should be for selecting one church over another in which to worship, providing the church selected be that of his choice.

In forming this habit of voting for democrats, too, Tennessee negroes have become to realize, it is said by their leaders, that such action is making for a more friendly relationship between the white man and his black neighbor; that he is helping the great numbers of white men in the state who help him, not at election time, but every day of the year. These are some of the reasons which are given as to why the negro has grown independent in politics.

An unbiased and minute investigation would reveal the fact, it is claimed by members of the negro race, who ought to know, that in Tuesday's election the negro vote will be more nearly equally divided as between General Rye and the present governor than it has been in any political race in Tennessee where a democrat and a republican represented opposing sides. This is considered remarkable when it is considered that little or no effort has been made by the democrats to secure the support of the negro; while the republicans have gone several steps further than for many years in order to prevent the negro from leaving the old republican ship. All of the usual suasion has been used from the present governor's committee, and in addition, the colored republicans this year have also had their own "state" headquarters run at the expense of the governor's committee. An office fitted up with stenographers and other requisites to make the usual show, this office is, and, while it is thought, the literature was furnished by the "white state" committee, the "colored state" committee had the honor of sending it out all over the state, and the names of the colored men were attached to each piece of the matter mailed out. All of this would show that the effort this year has exceeded previous ones in attempting to hold the colored voter to the old-time republican principles.

There is no longer any doubt that the negro looks to the white race for his ideals, whether this is as it should be or not. All of the good in the white man is copied from him by the good negro. Much of the bad in the bad negro comes from the bad white man. The game of "craps" was taught the negro by the white man. Some of the best friends negroes have are white friends. Some are employers; some are advisers; some are democrats. These are reasons, it is claimed, why the negro cannot be misled into forever and eternally voting the republican ticket straight even by members of a "colored state republican campaign committee." Negroes in this election are taking the democrats at their word as to the law enforcement pronouncement in their platform, because

they find the democrats are being supported here in Nashville by some of the best Christian white citizens of Nashville. Negroes read both sides carefully and would surprise their employers if they really knew how conversant they are with events and all questions of the least importance. For instance, the negroes of Nashville read the names of scores of the city's leading Christian citizens in the list as being members of General Rye's reception committee when he spoke recently at the auditorium. They feel that if these kind of citizens can trust the democrats, they are satisfied to do so. They are their friends. In the list were found vice-presidents of the Y. M. C. A. and many others whose religious character the negroes are satisfied with.

It may be truthfully stated here that the present governor received a much larger number of negro votes in his last race than did his opponent, because the question then was, as they saw it, one of law enforcement as against the open saloon. The Tennessee negro is for law enforcement just as are the white citizens. But when no question is to be settled, as in this race, except the one of a democrat or republican to be elected to the office of governor, it will be found that the democrat candidate will receive as many, if not more, negro votes than the republican candidate.

district announce there has been a little improvement in business with prospects of continued improvement. The completion of the double track on the Louisville & Nashville railroad between Birmingham and Decatur means much for the southern industrial section. Freight trains are now being operated over the new line with a tonnage of 1,750 tons against 750 on a train heretofore. The work has been put in also with a view to permanency, the double tracking being substantial in every particular. The trestles and bridges are of steel and concrete, while the two tunnels are as substantial as engineering skill and hard work will bring them about. It is expected that the new trackage will afford facilities that will be needed a little later. Development work started on some time back is being finished or rushed to completion, the expectations being that before the new year starts in there will be a demand for various products that will require operation of industries on all sides. While metal market conditions at present are considered exceedingly quiet, there is no denying that the prospects are very bright and that no time ought to be lost in preparing to meet every probable increased demand.

NEW YORK WORLD

THE NEGRO VOTE AND THE OFFICES.

To the Editor of The World:

The complaint of Bishop Alexander Walters, President of a Negro Democratic League, which appeared in The World a few days ago, that President Wilson is not friendly to the colored race because he has failed to appoint negro Democrats to all the positions held by negro Republicans, deserves attention, for the day has passed when friendship for this race should be measured by the appointment of a few negro office-seekers.

This plan of political dishonesty and hypocrisy of massing negro voters through appeals to race prejudice has built up at the South a school of statesmen of the type of Senator Vardaman of Mississippi, whose interest is to con-

tinue this condition, fight the colored race, mass white votes, postpone the day of peace and confidence by keeping the colored man out of the Democratic party. These are conditions, the accumulations of half a century, which the President must consider in dealing with this race question, and if we can bring our troubles under the great mantle of universal peace and confidence—the lofty policy of President Wilson—instead of war, distrust and suspicions, we shall be safe.

All candid men must agree with The World that the late elections proved a "triumph for President Wilson," because they only indicated a slight fever in the body politic on the way of recovery from the removal of certain malignant growths which had been secretly accumulating during the past forty years.

Bishop Walters is unfortunate in

complaining because negroes are not invited to "public functions at the White House." Did Frederick Douglass, while Marshal of the District of Columbia demand or enjoy public functions? While millions of negroes were blind followers and in many instances saviors of the Republican party, who ever put such a matter up to a Republican President? President Wilson has a powerful mind, so we must be hopeful that he will deal with all public questions in the right way, and, strange as it may seem, our true remedy may consist not so much in doing as in leaving undone the things that have been done.

JOHN B. SYPHAX.

New York, Nov. 11.

New York Globe

16 September 1914

Negro Discriminated Against.

Editor of The Globe, Sir—I wish to thank you for your article on your editorial page on Saturday last in behalf of the Negro race, but while on the subject may I ask you if the birth of the American republic was not caused by England wanting to tax America without any representation in parliament? If the forefathers of this country refused to be taxed, why should the Negro of this so-called free country be compelled to abide by the war tax that congress and the President has assessed us? My appeal is for an equal chance for the members of my race.

What good are the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to our Constitution if they are not enforced? The highest official of this government has not only proved himself an enemy of the Negro, but he caters to the sentiment of the south by his policy. Why, when, or where have any of our former presidents allowed his various cabinet officials to discriminate against the Negro, who has been the country's most true and tried citizen in time of war as in peace. From the battle of Hopkirk Hill in our Revolution to the battle of Santiago the Negro has been the leader of every war and, in fact, every battle that the American flag has gone in.

New York, Sept. 14. H. H. B. L.

Nashville, Tennessee

Nov 5 1914

NASHVILLE BANNER AND THE COLORED VOTE

In an editorial headed "Negro in Politics," the Nashville Banner, in its issue of Wednesday, complains of the small number of votes Governor Hooper received in several wards. In this article the editor of the Banner seeks to show that the negroes were responsible for the Rye majorities in these wards. But the negro does not think it fair that the Banner should cry "nigger" every time an election is held that does not go to the liking of the Banner and its publisher.

"In the Fourth ward," says a prominent Nashville negro, "one of the wards mentioned by the Banner, it is true Gov. Hooper only received 20 votes. I was at this place all day. About forty negroes voted there. Eight of these negroes, at least, voted for Gov. Hooper. About 120 whites voted. Twelve of these whites (estimated) voted for Gov. Hooper. Thus it will be seen that more negroes in proportion voted for Gov. Hooper than whites.

"Had Gov. Hooper received all of these forty negro votes the Banner would not have objected. I am also a voter in this ward, and think, act and vote as my own conscience dictates. I voted for Gov. Hooper two years ago, and voted for Gen. Rye Tuesday. I voted against the publisher of the Banner for one reason that many negroes did. This publisher was working against Hillary Howse and Albert Hill. The negro knows who his friends are. He knows who fought for the free text book. He also knows what this everlasting cry of 'bringing the negro back into politics' is made for.

"The negro votes as the white man votes, for all parties."

New York Press

20 December 1914

Vardaman Asks Nation to Disfranchise Negro

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19.—James K. Vardaman, United States Senator from Mississippi, who has lost no opportunity in his official career to deplore the participation of the negro in politics, announced to-night in a few days he will offer amendments to the Federal Constitution repealing the Fourteenth Amendment to the organic act and greatly modifying the Fifteenth Amendment.

The Senator would not go into details as to the exact terms of either of his propositions.

The Senator added that he would have made this move long ago but for the certainty that such action would have embarrassed the President.

Yonkers, N. Y.

ADVERTISER
OCT 24 1914

Six Seventh Ward Republicans, all Negroes, were asked by Assembly Candidate John L. Hayes, last Saturday, to enroll themselves as Democrats so they may vote for Hayes for mayoral nominee in next year's primaries.

This bears out the statement made by the former supervisor's friends that he was ready to fight the organization, if it turns him down. All over the city like suggestions were made to Republicans and Progressives friendly to Hayes, and the defeat of Commissioner Fleming for sheriff means a big fight in the primaries.

Fleming is the organization choice to succeed Mayor Lennon. He has built up a big following for himself, and will have the support of the entire city administration. The police force and fire department will be solidly for him, and he will enter the fight with a big advantage over Hayes.

Hayes' ambitions have been known to his friends for a long time. He took the nomination for assembly this time largely to demonstrate his strength to the party leaders. If he wins, he will be in a position to make demands that will be hard to refuse. If he loses, of course, his influence will be reduced. He is determined, however, to go through with his battle.

A NEW YORK VIEW.

"The Crisis," a periodical published in New York by the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, is a paper which gives frequent utterances to unwholesome sentiments, but none the less it is at times illuminating and entertaining. In the current issue in a column headed, "Social Uplift," appears the following paragraph which we think will be of interest to the white women of Alabama:

"Howard University, Washington, D. C., was represented in the College Women's Section of the Suffrage parade in Washington, D. C., on May 9, by eight girls, as large a delegation as any University had. In contrast to the courteous treatment received by these girls was that accorded the colored suffragists in Philadelphia who, as a matter of discrimination, it is said, were compelled to march with the Socialists."



WHY DEMOCRATS DON'T WANT TO OPEN THE DOOR.

—Darling in the Des Moines Register and Leader.

SUFFRAGE PERPLEXITIES IN TWO LANDS.

A QUESTION OF HOME RULE.

Macon Telegraph.

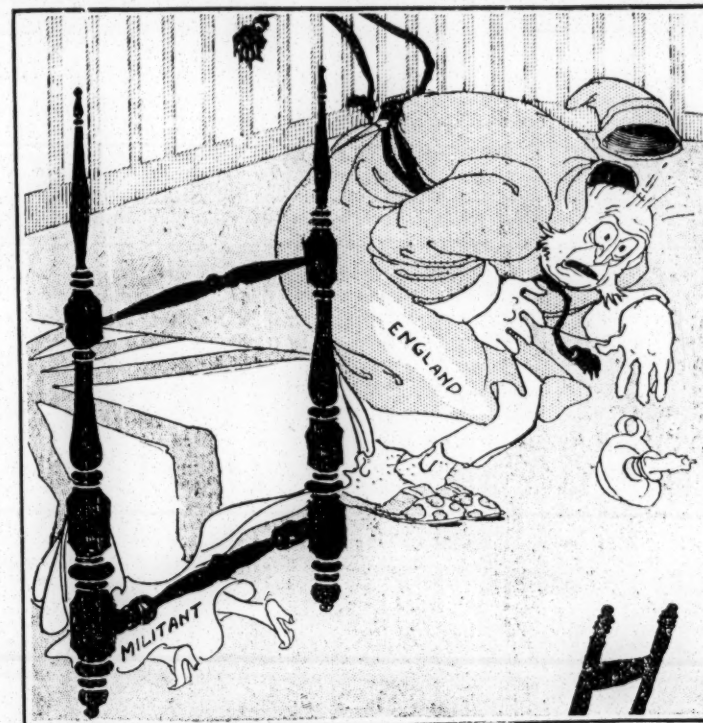
Senator Vardaman has published an article in a Northern newspaper in which he strongly favors woman suffrage under desirable conditions, but submits that, so far as the South is concerned, the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment is an essential preliminary step.

Much of the article is taken up with an extremely unflattering discussion of the character of the negro, particularly the negro woman—"verily 'the female of the species,'" according to Senator Vardaman, "is more deadly than the male" in this instance," the male being "much less turbulent and more tractable," but neither being "capable of performing properly the supreme functions of citizenship."

Whether the Northern readers of Senator Vardaman's article be inclined to agree with him about this matter or not, it is certain that they would have been more impressed if he had based his objections to nation-wide woman suffrage chiefly on constitutional grounds. "Without the negro being eliminated from the suffrage," he writes, "the South cannot accept a nation-wide suffrage law."

Even if there were no negroes among us, the South should not be willing to accept a nation-wide law that properly and constitutionally belongs to the States for enactment. Nor should the North or the West be willing to deprive the States of this right of regulating the franchise, or of any right reserved to them in the interests of home rule. That is the point that needs to be stressed, and one which too many Southern statesmen in our time either fail to see the force of or thoughtlessly overlook.

If Senator Vardaman had contended that it was really a question of home rule, and revealed less of his violent anti-negro sentiment with its inevitable invitation to the charge of exaggerated prejudice, he would have been much more effective.



A WOMAN UNDER THE BED.

—Webster in the New York Evening Sun.

New York Sun

Woman Suffrage and Negro Suffrage.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: "Barnard '05" must have forgotten a good deal that she was supposed to have learned during her college career, for she drags her conclusion into her premises. It is perfectly true that the Southern States found a way of evading the necessity of allowing the black people the vote. It is not true that no progress has been made in the development of the colored citizens of this republic. Everybody knows that many of them are highly intelligent and useful members of society and that the number of such is increasing every year.

Again, it is not true that the contempt for law has increased with the extension of the franchise. Twenty-five or thirty years ago "lynch law" was regarded as inevitable and did not produce the shock that it does to-day. It is true that the respect for law in this republic is not all that could be desired, but have we not grown by leaps and bounds; are we not composed of various nationalities; has any nation in the history of the world made a better showing in a given period of time?

Personally, I think that one of the strongest reasons for the enfranchisement of women is that law can only be administered and be effective among a community that is educated and which cooperates in the carrying out of the law. Law divorced from public opinion is a complete farce. Women form a large part of public opinion and it is urgently necessary that they should cooperate in the intelligent administration of the laws under which they live. WELLESLEY '06.

New York, May 13.

RETALIATED WITH BALLOT

COLORED VOTERS PUT SALOONS OUT OF BUSINESS IN A NEBRASKA CITY—FIRST TIME DRY IN 50 YEARS—SALOONS HAD BARRED ALL COLORED BECAUSE ONE COLORED MAN HAD COMMITTED CRIME AFTER DRINKING IN A SALOON.

Negro Votes Effective.

(Special to The Star.)

Falls City, Neb., April 8, 1914.—The Negro voters who had been denied admission to the saloons here yesterday made good their threats to vote the saloons out of Falls City and the town is dry for the first time in nearly half a century. After a Negro from another town had been convicted of a crime shortly after leaving a saloon here some time ago, no Negroes were allowed to enter the liquor dispensaries. The colored population of the city protested and declared that a solid colored vote would be cast against the saloons at yesterday's election. Falls City went dry by a majority of 172.

The United States Supreme Court has not yet handed down its decision in the far-reaching Oklahoma cases, involving the grandfather clause, a new question comes to the court on appeal from Minnesota, propounding the intricate question, "What is meant by a 'mixed-blood Indian'?" Upon the decision of this question rests the outcome of 1,000 suits brought by the government involving the taxation and sale of all allotments in the White Earth reservation in Minnesota.

The Atlanta Independent, 5-9-14

Our esteemed contemporary, the Atlanta Constitution, is very much distressed because the people refused to inflict upon themselves a million dollar debt on account of the Grady Hospital. Our neighbor is so much disturbed that it finds fault with the law. The law is all right until the law fails to authorize, under the showing made, what our neighbor wants. Just as soon as the people refuse under the law to do the bidding of the Constitution, then the law is all wrong. It is absolutely right, safe and conservative that it should take two-thirds of the registered voters to fasten a debt of millions upon the taxpayers both and unborn. It would not be fair that a mere irresponsible majority of those participating in the election, which in the last analysis might prove to be a minority, should impose debts of millions upon the property holders of the community.

The Independent is not opposed to bonds. We are not opposed to public improvements, but we are opposed to discrimination in public functions, to selfishness in public funds. We are opposed to following the color line in the distribution of trust funds. Public funds, like public office, is a public trust and should be administered in the interest of all the people; and there is no reason why that bond money should be spent in the interest of white men any more than that it should be spent in the interest of black men. There should be no color line in the distribution of public funds and public service. Thousands of Negroes and white men stayed from the polls on election day because it was the easiest way of defeating what they regarded as a wrong. Not that the bonds were not necessary, but the people have no confidence in the men who would have charge of the spending of this huge trust fund. They had the right to reject it and they rejected it; and the staying away from the polls and refusing to vote was not cowardice, as our neighbor styles it. What is the necessity of walking a mile and standing in line hours from your business in order to cast a vote when you can reach the same result by staying away from the polls and losing no time? The Constitution provided this provision of defeating such legislation or burdens as the people do not care to bear, and our neighbor ought to take its medicine. The Negroes stayed away from the polls and assisted in defeating the bonds for the reason that side by side of the bond election there was a white primary, not a political primary, but a race prejudice primary, a primary concocted for the specific purpose of defeating the will of a majority of the people. Negro votes are good enough to assist the white man in putting over bond deals for the benefit of the bond brokers, but Negroes are not good enough to participate in the selection of the men who are to administer public affairs. You can help us put over a bond proposition, but you shall have nothing to do with how the money is spent. You can not vote for sheriff, for county officers, governor or president, but we will use you as a means of reaching an end. We are divided among ourselves, and a majority of us do not favor certain legislation or certain tax burdens, but if we can get enough Negro votes they are good enough to put the proposition over and provide additional bonds to be dispensed in the interest of white men and keep the bond brokers in business, but Negro votes are spurned and rejected when it comes to regulating government affairs.

But this is not the only reason why the Negroes stayed from the polls and assisted in defeating the bond issue, but for the plain every day reason that we have no faith in our white neighbors' promises to issue to us our part of the public funds. They did not keep the faith with us in the three million dollar bond issue with reference to our school and hospital facilities. \$100,000 was spent for the Grady Hospital annex and not a single ward or bed was provided for the Negro. There is no ward for Negro children, no relief for those of the race suffering from contagious diseases, and the best arrangement provided for any class of Negroes is a little better than no arrangement at all. The white man is so intense in his prejudice until he can not see that the Negro hovers in the alley, the stagnant pools of water in Negro settlements breed disease as deadly to white men as they do to

black men; that every time a Negro's health is impaired, a white man's is threatened; that disease knows no color line. Our white neighbors are so intense in their prejudice that they can not see that the more valuable Negro property is, the lighter their tax burdens are. They have segregated us, disfranchised us, jim crowed us and unveiled every description of inhumanity that human ingenuity could conjure up, yet they call upon us to tax our property and our posterity to provide facilities for them to our own exclusion and detriment.

It is time that we were showing the stuff that is in us by manly resentment of wrongs imposed upon us. It is time we were standing up and being counted against the men and measures aimed at our progress. It is time we were relegating to the rear sycophants, hat in hand, "me, too, boss," Negro preachers and leaders, who for the sake of having a white newspaper call them smart or sharp who are willing to sell your soul and body for a miserable mess of pottage. We want bonds. We want a great Grady Hospital. We want a greater and more beneficial school system, but we are not going to vote for bonds to authorize these improvements unless we are guaranteed, and absolutely so, that the public funds will be distributed upon the grounds of merit and according to the necessities of the people. We are not going to be used any longer. We have acquiesced in wrongs long enough. It is time we were asserting manfully and decently our rights as men and citizens. Not in a boisterous and unmanly way, but in a manly and Christ-like way. We should tell our neighbors we know our rights if we do not get them. We should have them to know that they are wicked and criminal to deny us equal rights and opportunities as citizens; that it is cowardly to take advantage of a people who are already at a disadvantage; that it is an admission of inferiority on their part to deny a weaker people equal opportunities and advantages in the struggle for education and uplift.

Bonds were defeated and we find no pleasure in the result, but we think it a hopeful sign, and we find pleasure in the sign to see that the people saw the motive behind the movement and nipped it in the bud. There is too much politics in our municipal affairs. There is too much politics in the handling of public trusts. And our neighbors must learn that they can not hurt us by legislation, subscribing and limiting the opportunities and possibilities of the Negro without in the end injuring the possibilities and limiting the opportunities of white men; that in order to keep the black man down, the white man must necessarily in a degree remain in the ditch with him. He must learn that as he lifts others up, he lifts himself up, and as he oppresses others down, he oppresses himself down. No nation or race of people is any more intelligent or wealthy than the aggregate intelligence and wealth of all the people; and the American people can not rise any higher in the civilization of the world, or become any more powerful as a world factor than it lifts all of its people. A nation can not rise to its highest usefulness in the world's civilization so long as half of the people are intelligent and the other half ignorant, half poor and half rich. There must be a common interest manifested by the government in all the people. The policy of our government in the distribution of rights and opportunities and in affording protection must be as broad as all the people and as varied as every interest, without regard to race, color or previous condition of servitude. There must be no color line, only fitness must be the standard. The Negro recognizing these principles of humanity and of godliness must rely upon himself, stand upon his own bottom, striving to attain the highest moral excellence, stand up for his rights under the law of man, and look to God and humanity for his place in American life. Bonds fail because they ought to fail, and they will fail again unless the politicians inspire confidence in the masses, by the proper and correct administration of the trusts imposed in them.

Disfranchisement in the primaries
The Journal
Here is a new thing, under the
sun. The Richmond Times-Dispatch says: 3-14-14
"We must confess to some misgivings regarding the seventh of Mr. Stuart's suggestions—namely, that 'no persons belonging to a class that has been excluded by the proper party authorities should be permitted to

vote in the primaries of that party." The danger here sought to be obviated is not an immediate one. The Negro, though rejected by one element of the Republican party in Virginia has not yet become so hostile to his old friends that he is ready to join the ranks of those he formerly opposed, and consequently cannot speedily become a factor in politics if permitted to participate in a Democratic primary. Any legislation on this subject is, therefore, in the nature of precaution against future changes of heart on the part of Negro voters."

The Times Dispatch says further, that if the Negroes are excluded from both parties they may organize a party of their own, and "acquire more or less influence as they qualify to vote," it therefore thinks that "the proposal should be left open for future consideration."

We do not need and should not be forced to have a Negro party in Virginia, any more than we need and are forced to have a white man's party because color is the only distinguishing thing between the Democratic and alleged Republican parties of Virginia as far as the colored people are concerned in their political relations; but circumstances make strange bedfellows.

The white people of Virginia have made the race issue in politics as in all the other relations of life; the colored people have not done so; in like manner the white people of Virginia made the slave question, originally, in the life of the States and the Nation which George Washington repudiated on his death bed by freeing all of his slaves as they were held to responsibility or making the slave and his question paramount in our politics, so they will be held responsible for making the race question and its relations paramount in the politics of our times.

The Negro cannot be negated nor crushed out as a positive factor in American life without his consent and when he consents it will be time enough to recast the horoscope of American life.

Suffrage - 1914

THE FOURTH CONSTABULARY DISTRICT

St. Louis Central Afr Amer 5-23-14

The chaotic conditions existing in the Fourth District among the Negro voters relative to the candidates for Constable, should be smoothly adjusted by the better thinking men of the race refusing to support any proposition that tends to place the Negro in an attitude of inconsistency. When Chas. Turpin was elected one of the Constables of the District, the consensus of opinion was that, one white, and one colored Constable was a fair division, and many expressed great satisfaction when the white voters of the District, through their speakers, declared the proposition acceptable to them, and voted accordingly.

Now comes advocates of a suicidal policy, who tell the voters that there is no danger of failure, because there are TWO Constables to be elected in the District, seeking to convey the impression that it is possible to elect TWO NEGROES. This could not be done unless the white voters decide to eliminate all white candidates and vote only for the Negro candidates, which would be discrimination of the rankest kind.

Fair recognition, and division of places of political preferment is all that any REASONABLE Negro should ask, and it is all that the better thinking element of Negro voters are going to continue to fight for.

Personal ambition or animosity must not be allowed to smother our race pride and love of fair play.

NATURALIZE AND QUALIFY

The Negro Journal 5-23-14

From now on we are going to insist constantly with all the power at our command, that every colored man in this State and City, who cannot vote by reason of any disqualification, remove those disqualifications at once. It is not so much by reason of being opposed as it is by reason of negligence and indifference that not much more than one-half of the voting strength of the colored citizens of this State can be or is actually polled at any election in this State. We want to urge upon our West Indian brethren that they naturalize at once. Your future in this country is bound up inexplicably with the future of every other colored man in this State. You cannot help yourself; you cannot realize the full advantage which American citizenship means to you unless you become an American citizen. To the almost equally large number of native born colored men, who do not register and qualify, we say to you, you are equally unworthy of the ballot and the full advantages of citizenship in this State if you disfranchise yourself. You complain about the political system of the South, which renders and keeps you a political serf; yet in too large a measure those of us who come from the South are indifferent toward the opportunity which we have to strike a blow with the ballot that we here have in our hands for our brethren in the South. That the slave power be forever extirpated from the Capitol of the nation at Washington; that Congress be taken out of the hands of Democratic Dixie; that the North may again assume control, rests very largely in the way you and I vote in the coming Congressional and United States Senatorial elections. They are pregnant with meaning of political life and death, of equal citizenship and liberty for your race's tomorrow and all time to come. It is a sacred duty which devolves

upon you and me to prepare to vote and vote right. NATURALIZE AND QUALIFY, otherwise you cannot vote and YOU MUST VOTE!

Philadelphia Record

1 July 1914

TALK SUFFRAGE TO NEGROES

Woman Orator Addresses Large Audience in Church.

"Anti-suffragists refuse to support the fight for woman suffrage because of traditions handed down through the centuries that only the men of a nation should have control of politics," said Miss Dille Hastings at a suffrage meeting last evening in the Central Baptist Church, Twenty-third and Lombard streets. The audience, made up negro men and women, was enthusiastic and the speaker's remarks were frequently interrupted with applause. Miss Hastings, who is president of the Business Men and Women's Equal Suffrage League, compared the bondage of the slaves with the present condition of women.

"When the emancipation proclamation was put in effect, there were thousands of the slaves who declared that they would prefer to remain with their masters and not accept the freedom," said Miss Hastings. "Three years after they gained their freedom, perhaps not a score would go back to the old life. The present condition of affairs regarding the question of whether or not women should vote is a parallel. In their present state perhaps women are satisfied with their lot, but it stands to reason that they would be happier and the condition of things generally would be improved if women were permitted to have a voice in matters of vital importance to them. Women have to obey the law; they must pay taxes; they raise families and many of them must support the ones who make their laws. Surely it is time for a readjustment of things."

Miss Hastings did not express surprise when she learned that President Wilson had declined to promise his support to the plea of the delegation of women that visited him yesterday. She concurred that the issue is one for the action of the States individually. Rev. G. L. P. Taliaferro also made an address. Rev. Charles E. Blackwell, pastor of the church, presided.

NEGRO REPUBLICANS MEET
Central Afr Amer 5-30-14
Discusses Best Method to Reach Voters to Register.

The Federation of Negro Republicans met in the parlors of Diony Sims Club Wednesday night and among other things, they emphasized the importance of devising some novel means of getting the voters to register. A committee was appointed to adopt some plans whereby such work would be effectively executed.

How National Woman's Suffrage Would Enfranchise Negro Women

(James Callaway in Macon Telegraph.)

To Macon belongs the honor of the first anti-suffrage club organized in Georgia by women. It was a body of earnest, intelligent women who met at the Dempsey hotel on the afternoon of May 22 for the purpose of organization so as to better use their influence in assisting to defeat the resolution before congress to confer the ballot on all women, regardless of color.

The secretary read the telegram from Senator Hoke Smith saying:

"If the bill on the calendar should pass it would be impossible to eliminate the negro vote."

Miss Caroline Patterson in her brief remarks showed that should this bill pass and confer the ballot on the 2,000,000 negro women, the result of the movement would be the enforcement also of the fifteenth amendment, putting upon the south the entire negro vote, male and female. And to prevent such a consummation was the motive which brought together this splendid assemblage of thinking women. The foundation for the enforcement of these suffrage measures was laid in the Bristow amendment to the Sutherland bill, enlarging the powers of congress. Recent speeches of leading suffragists of the national association and the mottos on their parade floats have disclosed the purposes of those behind the bill before congress, making it manifest that they have no thought of votes for white women only. This purpose was also revealed when the proposition of Senator Borah, republican, of Idaho, to repeal the fifteenth amendment and extend the ballot to white women only, was given no consideration whatsoever by the national association. They would entertain no such offer. Hence the imperative necessity for white women who are not in accord with the aforesaid purposes to take steps to protect southern civilization from the threatened degradation. It is no longer a question of preventing negro women from voting as was done with negro men, but the question now is, under new conditions, how to protect the southern ballot from both.

Miss Patterson brought out other thoughts, especially the ominous threats that crept out in the suffrage debate in congress in future to enforce the fifteenth amendment and put into execution the political advantages which accrued to them under the Bristow amendment—the passage of which is the initial step, it seems, to other assaults upon the constitution, passing as "reforms."

Miss Patterson was correct in her view of the situation. And she might have added that those who are sent south under salary to get recruits allay apprehensions by saying the men can dispose of the negro women voters in the same manner as they did the negro men, knowing when they say it that it cannot now be done, knowing also conditions have changed, knowing we may be the victims of the exigencies of politics, and knowing also that the national association having every opportunity to declare itself for votes for white women only, have no done so, but by speeches and parademotto and other limelight devices have arranged themselves on the negro side of the fence just as Jane Addams did in the Bull Moos convention at Chicago.

Nashville, Tennessee

Oct 7 1914

Colored Citizens In and Around Birmingham—Register.

The Voice of the People

The following dates should find the registrars busy with the vast number of colored citizens who are entitled to register. Nothing should prevent our men of intelligence from applying to be registered. The Negro should not lose his interest and pride in the ballot which is the sceptre of the individual citizen in a republic. The very desire to exercise the ballot indicates a certain degree of qualification for the ballot. Then, every Negro citizen should at least see if he is qualified under the requirements for registration. There are many of our good representative, intelligent citizens who are not registered. They should come forward and lead out in this important phase of our civilization.

No colored citizen who possesses the qualification should fail to register and be ready to cast a ballot.

Take note of the following dates upon which the board of registrars will be in and around Birmingham:

August 31; East Lake, September 1; Avondale, September 2; North Birmingham, September 3; Vanderbilt, September 4; Wylam, September 5; Ensley, September 7; Jonesboro, September 8; Bessemer, September 9; West End fire department, September 10; Pratt City, September 11; Court House, September 12 to 19; Court House, September 21 to 26; general registration, September 28 to October 3, at court house.

Washington

17 April 1914

SAYS COLORED RACE MUST FIND SOLUTION

Senator Borah Tells Negroes Whites Can Do Nothing More Than Help.

Fifty-Second Anniversary of Emancipation of Slaves in the District Observed.

"The real solution of the race problem is in the hands of the colored race itself," said Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, speaking last night at the fifty-second anniversary celebration of the emancipation of the slaves in the District at Cosmopolitan Baptist Church, 10th and N streets northwest.

"I believe if the colored race will set about to acquire property, to assert its individuality and integrity, the north and south will have to control any race prejudice they may feel. The great struggle is on the part of the white man to overcome prejudice and the colored man to ignore it. But after all the solution of the problem is with you. We want to help, but we can do nothing but help."

Senator Borah pointed out to his hearers the fact that some of his remarks concerning the colored race had been misunderstood, and stated that he had said nothing away from them that he would not say to their face.

Duties Imposed on Them.

"I said the fifteenth amendment was a mistake, for these reasons: You were just lifted out of bondage and expected to do what other races had taken thousands of years to do. I said and say that no race was able to meet that demand. You were not unfit for those duties, but they were imposed on you before you were prepared to undertake them. I believe no race in the history of the world has progressed so rapidly as the colored race."

Representative Sanford Kirkpatrick of Iowa spoke on "The Land of Hog and Hominy," Mrs. Hellen A. Davis delivered an address on "The History of Slavery." Dr. Simon P. W. Drew presided.

During the evening a free dinner was served to ex-slaves of the District by the church, those too old to walk being brought in carriages to the feast.

Progress of the Race.

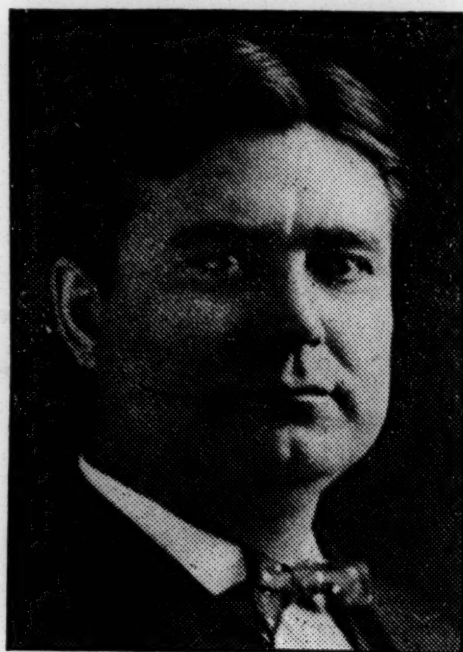
Gifford Pinchot, speaking at the Second Baptist Church, on 3d street between H and I streets northwest, felicitated the colored race on its progress since emancipation, pointing out its progress along educational, economical and financial lines.

"Under a free government," said Mr. Pinchot, "the test of a man's worth is and should be his character and his capacity. Judged by this test, no other race has made so rapid progress as yours. If we compare the contribution of the negro race to the common welfare of our country in 1863 with what that race contributes now, we cannot but be struck with astonishment not only at the extent of the progress already made, but at the wonderful promise for the future."

"No race which can produce men like Booker T. Washington and Paul Lawrence Dunbar, no race which has created the wealth and registered the achievements of the negro race during the last fifty years, can fail to be full of promise. Upon the shoulders of the negro race rests the credit for the progress already made, and the responsibility for the still greater progress yet to come. Confidently, securely, you will go forward to yet greater achievement, to a yet larger abundance of religious, educational, commercial and industrial life. Your future is and ought to be bright with hope."

Senator Moses E. Clapp of Minnesota introduced the speakers, and Archibald Grimke, former consul at Santo Domingo, presided.

4-25-14
lently in political matters and in all that concerns the affairs of his race. He advised them to vote for principles as will effect the Negroes's best interests, and not for parties or men. It will go far towards gaining sentiment that will pronounce the race's fitness for franchise. It will go far to disprove the idea that it is still in its infancy of capableness to form plans for future progress and government, independently, as has been declared by not a few people. Only yourselves can solve the problem we can only help.



SENATOR WM. E. BORAH OF IDAHO
Who Believes in Equality of Citizenship—A Defender of the Constitutional Rights of the Negro.

"I have been criticized by some people for stating that I thought the party in power directly after the emancipation of the slaves made a mistake by giving the Negro the right to vote."

"I am glad of an opportunity here to-night to make plain to you what I did say and also to make plain to you my reasons for the remarks."

"I did say it was a mistake to have given the Negro the right to vote, and this was prompted by no other than the friendliest interest I have always entertained for them and continue to entertain for them. My reason for saying so is because of the total ignorance of them as to the laws governing this country, which at that time made him unfit for such a gigantic responsibility as that which has been assumed by a race of people who have been governing for thousands of years."

He commended the progress of the race and admitted its "capableness of absorbing the highest civilization" (as Mrs. Davis had previously asserted), by saying "No other race of people had made so remarkable advancement in so short a time." He implored the Negro to shun liquor, live highly moral lives, acquire property and eventually he would enter into his own.

"The Star Spangled Banner" was nicely rendered by the three Sunday schools, namely, the Trinidad Baptist, taking the lead, Miss Annie Brown, superintendent, directing the music, and others joining in the choruses were the N. E. Baptist and the Mt. Horeb and the Cosmopolitan.

Representative Sanford Kirkpatrick was next introduced. He took for his subject "The Land of Hog and Hominy." After giving out a few jokes on the subject in question, which, by the way, referred to the Southerner and his peculiar characteristics and good nature, which was very amusing, he betook himself to speaking feelingly of the Negro and his struggles. He knew the Negro needed help and he was going to do what he had always done to help him. He backed up his assertion by saying that the program was worth admission fee and all those who had not paid to enter should pay before leaving, "So I shall pay mine now." He did so by putting five dollars on the table. A good collection was the result.

Rev. Drew donated a part of the collection to the National Sentinel, on the part of the church.

Benediction by Rev. Wiseman. A vote of thanks was given to the visiting talent, including the speakers and the invited guests were importuned to join in the repast with the old ex-slaves, which was accepted, and all were filled with information and good cheer.

EMANCIPATION AT COSMOPOLITAN. Wash. The Great Men and Women Speak—Senator Borah Explains. He Received a Great Ovation. Mr. Davis Applauded and Commended by Senator Borah. Singing, etc.

Those who spoke at the Cosmopolitan Church last Thursday evening, the occasion being the celebration of the fifty-second anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the District of Columbia, were: Senator Wm. E. Borah of Idaho, Representative Sanford Kirkpatrick of Iowa, Mrs. Helen A. Davis, president of the National Sentinel Organization.

The program was as follows: Rev. Wiseman offered an invocation. After which the Trinidad Baptist Sunday School, Rev. Hawkins, pastor, sang "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." Rev. Simon Drew presided and made a short address in which he said the negroes would not gain much headway materially, until they had acquired a business acumen. He emphasized the fact, that they were badly in need of department stores and that they must have them. "We have the money but we need the push; and the push must first start from the negro's own efforts." (Vigorously applauded.)

He then introduced Mrs. Helen A. Davis, president of the National Sentinel; she was greeted with applause. She gave a brief history of her organization, and outlined its object, and after discussing the present civil and political status of the race, she gave a history of slavery replete with incidents of a thrilling nature. She said in part:

"There is no doubt that the condition of slavery has existed for a time away back of that which records the



REV. SIMON P. W. DREW
President of the Great Emancipation Meeting.

first events in history; and that slaves almost exclusively, until the last few centuries, were not members of the Negro race. In this fact should the hearts of those four people who have trod the wine press of affliction sorrow, and thralldom, be buoyed up with hope. She said Abraham, the founder of the Hebrew race, was the first slave owner and quoted passages from the Bible to substantiate her claim. She closed by saying all nations which held slaves, the last of which was the great Roman empire, which constituted, at that time, all of the then known world, had fallen by reason of its or their sins. And all other nations that deal cruelty, oppression and death to their subjects will meet with the same terrible punishment. There is a God in Heaven, and He concerns Himself in the affairs of men. The vials of His wrath will in His own good time, be poured out upon a people, who countenance such iniquities."

Prof. Wright then rendered a very impressive solo. Senator Wm. E. Borah was next introduced. He prefaced his address as follows: "I have listened to a most excellent address which was ably delivered by the speaker who preceded me, Mrs. Helen

A. Davis; and I have been informed. I endorse all that she has said. I wish to say, however, to you and to her, that you must not hold the South alone, responsible for the plight you are in today, because there are those of the North, many of whom could help you in remedying conditions, and who will not, by reason of their prejudices."

"He advised the Negro that the time is come when he is sufficiently developed, intellectually and educationally, to think and to act independently."

WORKING TO REGISTER THE VOTERS
The Savannah
Tribune
Meetings of the Progressive
Club Every Wednesday
Night to Rally the
Voters

Meetings are being held every Wednesday night at Morse's hall by the Progressive Republican Club. This club was organized for the purpose of encouraging colored men to pay their tax and become registered voters.

A largely attended meeting was held on Wednesday night, presided over by President W. M. Lawrence. A representative of The Tribune was present and was invited to say a few words. The men were commended for the interest that they are manifesting and for the earnestness displayed and encouraged to continue the work. Several other speeches were made along the same line.

Through the efforts of the club many names were added to the registration list. The officers are as follows: W. M. Lawrence, president; C. Marshall, vice-president; J. R. Cuthbert, legal adviser; J. B. Scurdy, advocate; E. W. Tolbert, secretary; John W. Chaney, treasurer. John Seabrooks, sergeant-at-arms.

ALABAMA REPUBLICAN ROW.

Advertiser - 6-22-14
The Republicans of Alabama, who have been sending political missionaries to New England and carrying tales to Washington for the past thirteen years over the disfranchisement of the negro, can now add a chapter to the tale. The Republican State Executive Committee has passed a resolution disfranchising from all participation in party affairs, white and black Republicans in seventeen counties of Alabama. This was the effect of a resolution passed at a recent meeting of the committee under which no county which polled less than 100 votes for Taft and Roosevelt combined should be entitled to a delegate at the State Convention or representation on the committee. Under this resolution such counties as Pike, Lowndes and Dallas will not have a single delegate at a State convention. And, fifteen other counties in the State will be disfranchised so far as Republican politics are concerned.

The Democratic press of the State has overlooked this resolution and the pretty party which it had created. The Republican party in Alabama is not big enough to give the Democratic party any concern, nor is it big enough to split up into any considerable factions. But this resolution had split the party from center to circumference. It is evident that the Republicans from the hill counties were in the saddle at the Birmingham meeting and that they made up their minds to throw out the leaders of the past, who came from some of the Black Belt counties.

Of course the old time leaders, who now join the negroes in being disfranchised are not sitting quietly; they are raising all the row possible. If the committee can not be induced to rescind its action, an appeal will be taken to the national Committee. It will be interesting to hear the hill Republicans justify their action before the National Committee, a body before which they have appeared so often to tell the tale of woe of the disfranchisement of the black Republicans.

GEORGIA'S REGISTRATION LAW.

Mont Ado - 4-21-14
In Georgia voters must register six months before election day. Moreover, a "reform" Legislature, under a "reform" Governor, gave to Georgia this sort of measure. They said the opponents of the new idea were "reactionaries," and that its advocates were "progressives."

We can imagine about how long the people of Alabama would tolerate such an unjust system. The Athens, Ga., Banner has this to say of the Georgia law:

The law that requires a voter to pay his taxes and register at least six months before election is causing thousands of Georgians to be disfranchised. They forget about registering until it is too late and thus lose their right to vote. In some counties as many as six hundred have been thus disfranchised and it is not placing the numbers too high to say that in the State of Georgia the number of disfranchised voters by reason

of the six months law will not fall short of thirty thousand.

The Macon Telegraph says the law was made to "cut out a large element of those quiet, conservative voters who were not in the habit of registering until the political campaigns opened." The law was presumably to catch the purchasable voter, "though common sense," says The Telegraph, "teaches that if a voter wishes to sell his vote he would be sure to keep registered."

In Alabama the registration books are opened two days before primaries and election days.

NEW YORK WORLD

19 April 1914

NEGRO WOMEN

By ANNIE RILEY HALE.

A PAPER formulated by Mrs. Helen Gardener of Virginia and adopted by all the Southern States suffragists as a campaign document is entitled "Woman Suffrage—Which Way?" and leads off optimistically with: "The time is past when there is any question as to whether or not we are to have woman suffrage. The question before us now is, Which way do we prefer to have it come—State by State as it has so far come, or all at one time by constitutional amendment?"

A Rumble of Reconstruction.

We seem to hear a reminiscential rumble of "reconstruction" days in the next sentence: "The South has had some rather trying experiences with the vote being conferred upon its citizens by the latter method. With that experience in mind, the question now is, Is the South willing to delay so long, to lag back so far in this new movement in popular government, that it will again have the matter taken out of its own hands and be struck by another tremendous tidal wave of citizenship conferred from the outside, instead of being developed, won and delivered from the inside? Is it not far better that the men of the South recognize that a real democracy is at hand? That a real (and the first) republic is about to be born, where government shall in deed and in truth rest upon the consent of the governed? Where the 'people' shall rule; where one-half the human race shall be recognized as 'people' and not, as heretofore, a mere annex to the other half, political nonentities? Is it not better that the Southern men shall plan for and offer to share the citizenship which they prize beyond rubies

WHO CLAIM TO BE

for themselves with the women of their households?"

Where the Joker Is to Be Found.

These have the look of noble sentiments, and it is not surprising that John Sharp Williams, at whose request this Southern suffragist document was made a part of the Congressional Record on March 19 ult., should have called the Senate's attention to the "lofty sound" of it.

But methinks the "joker" in this Southern suffrage "bill of rights" (which was permitted to occupy over two pages of the Record), as well as the real source of John Sharp's approval, is found in the clause: "Is it not better that each State take this matter of its own electorate into its own hands, do it in its own way, with an eye ever upon local needs, conditions, dangers and limitations that can be best met by local enactments?"

Stripped of its "lofty sound" and nebulous phrasing, this is a call to the "men of the South" to draw the color line in the woman suffrage law they are urged to pass, even as they had done in their regulation of male suffrage, though it must not be supposed that the Southern suffragist and Senator Williams held the same interpretation of it. In John Sharp Williams's view, leaving the matter to Southern Legislatures meant no woman suffrage at all in the South, for while some very stupid men get into Southern Legislatures at times, even the dullest of them know—what the suffragists so blithely miss—that it is one thing to outwit a Federal statute imposing negro suffrage on them from without and quite a different proposition to seek to nullify by fraud or subterfuge a State law of their own devising.

"PEOPLE" ALSO

Moreover, all Southern men and most Southern women—except the unfortunate few affected with the suffrage "bug"—know that negro women are much less tractable than negro men and any attempt to both "enfranchise" and "disfranchise" them would but invite turmoil and disaster.

Negro Women Who Are "People" Also.

From my personal experience as a Southern housewife, I can freely testify that never have I encountered such rough sailing on any seas of "governing without the consent of the governed" as in trying to manage the dusky maid-servants in my Tennessee home. I soon learned that my best chance both for domestic tranquillity and personal dignity was to ascertain as diplomatically and adroitly as possible just what her sable highness preferred to do and then command her as firmly and sweetly as I could to do that thing, and even then I was not perfectly sure of obedience if she happened to change her mind in the interim.

So if Mrs. Gardener and other Southern suffragists fondly imagine they can usher in the dawn of "a more perfect democracy" with white

that negro women are "people" too, women voters, from which colored ones are to be excluded, they will wake up some fine morning to be confronted with the grim democratic principle

NO FEAR OF COLORED WOMEN ON SUFFRAGE

The Guardian - 4-11-14
Says Southern White Woman at Boston Woman Suffrage Meeting — Says 600,000 More White Women in South than Colored Men and Women Combined — Dispels Claim of Negro Domination.

MRS. DESHA BRECKENRIDGE OF KENTUCKY DESCENDANT OF HENRY CLAY THE SPEAKER—SAYS WOMAN SUFFRAGE WILL INSURE ANGLO-SAXON SUPREMACY.

(Boston Herald, April 3, 1914.)

Boston saw the most enthusiastic rally for the cause of woman suffrage in its history last night at Tremont Temple. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Equal Suffrage Association, and other prominent leaders from the West and South were speakers. Fully 2000 persons were in the Temple when the exercises began at 8.30 o'clock. Samuel L. Powers, former Massachusetts Congressman, presided.

Pres. Shaw Objects to No Vote For Women While Foreign Men Vote.

Mrs. Anna Shaw said in part:

"German women are governed by German men and French women are governed by French men, but American women are governed by every kind of men under the sun. I would not take the ballot from one of these men, but it is a crime for all these foreigners to say women shall not vote."

Southern Woman Says There is no Need of Fear of Domination by

Colored Persons if White Women Granted Suffrage.

Mrs. Desha Breckenridge, pres. of the Civic League, at Lexington, Ky., a granddaughter of Henry Clay, delivered a brilliant address on "Suffrage and Patriotism."

"We suffragists are aiming to take the last logical step in the movement toward true democracy," she said. "It is not a dangerous step, for this country has never called on its women when they have not answered its call."

"It was pitifully hard that after the American woman's struggle and trial during the strife of the civil war, at the end of it all, men should say to her, when she asked for equal suffrage, 'No, not yet, this is the Negroes' hour.' The next quarter of a century will see the coming of the women's hour, and after that will follow the children's hour, when no longer the little ones will work under inhumane conditions, for the mothers will protect them with the ballots in their hands."

"I have heard that we may have trouble with the black woman in the South if equal suffrage is granted. There are now 600,000 more white women in the South than there are black men and black women together. Equal suffrage, on the other hand, would establish Anglo Saxon supremacy in that very South. The Negroes will be always with us. Unless the voters value the black ballot more than the white woman's vote, they must listen to our appeal."

Mrs. Breckenridge received a long ovation and was compelled to rise and accept the salutations of the audience.

THE WHITE PRIMARY.

On Tuesday a white primary was held in Atlanta for the selection of county officers. Next October these officers will be voted upon and elected to the positions to which they were nominated. The white primary is one of the iniquities growing out of race prejudice. In order to preserve itself against the ignorant, shiftless and indolent black electorate, the proud, intelligent, wealthy and superior white electorate organized themselves into a scheme they call the white primary. It is not a political primary, not Democratic, Republican, Populist or Bull Moose, but a trust or combine, an iniquitous scheme concocted by white men for the purpose of excluding Negroes from participation in the management of a country of which they are part and parcel. It makes no difference what party you belong to, just so you are white, you can vote in the white primary. No special fitness is required. It matters not what political dogma you stand for, what the principles of your party are, if you are willing to make common

cause against the Negro you are admitted to the white primary. If you are willing to outlaw Mr. Negro, take from him his opportunities, his rights, his privileges, and deny him the rights of a man, you can participate in the white primary.

We have never been able to understand our white neighbors' position. There are one hundred million people in this country, ten million Negroes, ninety million whites. The white man is superior to the Negro from every standpoint. He has the intelligence, the wealth, the prestige, the character and the standing. He has the government in all of its ramifications, and yet in spite of his great advantages, of his advanced civilization, of his eminence, of his centuries of successful conquest, he feels called upon to form an alliance, to call together all the white men all over the country to unite in an alliance both offensive and defensive against a helpless, poverty stricken, ignorant, inexperienced race. This conspiracy is formed in spite of the white man's boasted superiority. But the lesson we thought to bring out of the white primary was not that we are discriminated against, but that race prejudice received a distinct blow in the renomination of the sheriff, Hon. C. Wheeler Mangum. The fight was made against Mr. Mangum not because he was not an efficient and satisfactory officer, not because he had

not done his full duty, but because he had been fair, because he treated a poor, unfortunate Jew with due consideration, that he had given him the same opportunities and same treatment in the jail that he would give an Englishman, German, Negro or an Italian. Prejudice was so intense in this town against this particular Jew at the bar that it was sung on every corner that Mangum would be defeated because he favored Frank, because he granted to him the same privileges that all wealthy, intelligent prisoners enjoy in the tower. The good people of Atlanta and Fulton county repudiated that idea and put the seal of condemnation upon race prejudice. The Jews like the Englishman, German, Negro, Chinese, Japanese and other nationalities have criminals among them. It is no more expected of them that all Jews should be honest and upright than it is expected that all Negroes and white men should be upright and honest, and when a Jew commits a crime, he should be dealt with according to the law. Justice should be administered to him surely and swiftly. He should have the same opportunities before the law of peace, but in the time of danger, that any other criminal has, and the fact of his color, his nationality, his

religion or his tribe should not operate to the detriment of his case.

Had Mr. Mangum been defeated, it would have been charged solely to the fact that it was understood among those who despise the Jews, that Mangum was in sympathy with the Jews, and it matters not how efficient or satisfactory his services might have been, how well his duty had been performed, the fact that he had treated Leo Frank with the same consideration that he is treating Rhynatta, the bank bandit, he must be defeated. But the good people would not stand for this iniquity. While his majority was greatly reduced, it was a great victory for right, righteousness and fair play.

URGES SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN OF ALL RACES.

Mrs. Victoria Clay-Haley, of St. Louis, Gives Address at St. Paul's Church.

Mrs. Victoria Clay-Haley, of St. Louis, spoke before a meeting at St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal Church April 2, urging suffrage for the women of both the white and the Negro races. Mrs. Haley is a leader among the colored women. She is grand secretary of the Order of Eastern Star of Missouri, chief of the St. Louis division of True Reformers, president of the St. Louis Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and holds other positions of prominence among her people. Mrs. Haley was one of the committee appointed by former Governor Hadley of Missouri to select a site for the home for incorrigible Negro girls.

In her speech Mrs. Haley dealt with the woman suffrage question in general, then applied it to her own race.

"It is to be regretted," she said, "that the Negro question must come into this fight, but the southern sentiment forces it. The recent defeat of the constitutional amendment in the senate made this a 'state's rights' question."

"Every man who made a speech in opposition to the amendment raised 'state's rights' as his objection and this was practically the only argument against it."

Mrs. Haley referred to the speech made during the week by Miss Kate Gordon, of New Orleans, in the suffrage conference, urging that suffrage be granted by states, and said:

"It is not our aim to make this a sectional fight. We have no desire to make this a race issue. But I appeal to you to join in this struggle for human rights."

"The 10,000,000 Negro men of this country deserve congress' careful consideration. The colored man has stood by his country not only in the time of peace, but in the time of danger. Let us be anxious to have a hand in this legislation to the end that every opportunity may be given the Negro to advance."

SENATOR BORAH

The Bee, on behalf of the colored Americans, extends its thanks to Senator Borah for his able defense, in the Senate of the United States in behalf of an oppressed race of people. All that the colored American asks is an opportunity to earn a living and be protected in his civil and political rights.

The attempt of Senator James K. Vardaman, of Mississippi, to show that the colored man is morally unfit for citizenship fails to point out the difficulty and dishonesty of many white men who are more notorious than the vilest Negro. At no time, no matter how vicious a Negro may be, he has never, at any time, betrayed his flag or his country. Indeed, it must be admitted that the colored man has been faithful and true to those who held him in bondage, and at no time has ever betrayed his master or mistress. He has defended them to his own detriment, and while his freedom was extended to him by those who endeavored to liberate him. Today the colored man is looked upon and characterized as an undesirable citizen, for no other reason than he is competing with those who once enslaved him.

Senator Borah is right when he said that there are white men equally as bad if not worse than the black man.

We have colored men, today superior to Vardaman. We have colored men at the head of colleges far superior, intellectually than Vardaman. We have lawyers who far surpass him and we have Negroes equally as bad or objectionable as he is. Compare the records of the black men in public life to that of Vardaman, and decide who are more desirable citizens. What good are amendments to the Constitution if they are not enforced?

The Democratic South would disregard any amendment that would tend to vote it out of power.

ST. LOUIS WOMEN DON'T KNOW HOW TO VOTE

Afro-American Deprived of a Seat in the City Council of East St. Louis, Ill., on Account of Insufficient

instructions as to the Manner of Voting and the Lack of Loyalty to the Race. *The Chicago Defender*

St. Louis, Mo., April 10.—Reform, personified by the economy ticket of aldermanic candidates, was victorious in the East St. Louis election. Of a total registration of 15,000, a little more than 9,000 votes were cast.

A. D. Woods, Afro-American independent candidate for alderman in the Second ward, was defeated chiefly because of the ignorance of the women as to the method of voting. The white women of East St. Louis played an important part in the campaign to prevent the election of the Woods. The Afro-American women's vote in the Second ward was said to be strong enough in itself to elect Woods. Many of the women agreed to vote against Woods on the promise of the white women leaders that in the school board election to be held soon, a white woman would be put up as candidate. Although 3,000 women were registered in East St. Louis, it is estimated little more than half that number voted. Woods was defeated by Phil Minette, the only improvement party candidate elected.

NEGRO PROTESTS TO BARNES.

Blames T. R. for Proposed Reduction of Southern Representation.

Joseph W. Henderson of Providence, R. I., president of the Douglass Republican Association, a national organization of negro voters and editor of the *New England Torchlight*, a negro Republican weekly, has written an open letter to State Chairman William Barnes, Jr., protesting against the proposal of the Republican National Committee to cut down the number of Southern delegates to the national convention. He writes that he has already protested to the National Executive Committee and to the National Committee itself and now warns the State Committee against "this discriminating cut down outrage."

The letter reads in part:

"This Republican delegate cut down move is a Roosevelt move. Proof: in the 1912 Republican national convention there were sixty-six colored delegates; fifty-seven stood for Taft and nine for Roosevelt. Even then Taft beat Roosevelt only twenty-one votes. Roosevelt had thirty-six more white delegates in the Republican national convention than Taft. Thus Taft was nominated by the loyal support of the colored delegates that stood hitched."

Mr. Henderson promises to carry the protest to the "millions of colored people of the United States."

PAYING THE PRICE

Under the caption "Paying the penalty of grandfather clause" the Evening News of this city on Monday last contained an enlightening editorial worthy of careful reading by every man who is interested in the South. It was doubtless inspired by the forthcoming opinion of the Supreme Court on the Annapolis case, and the fear that the court may render a decision striking down these infamous attempts to strip the Negro of all political rights in the Southern States. Whether this fear will be justified or not, one or two lessons are clearly taught (1) it is impossible for prejudiced white men to enact any class legislation of the sort here described without having it at some time or other interfere with the enjoyment of their own rights and privileges; (2) that the proper forum for the adjustment of differences brought about by such legislation is the court. Courts are human institutions and as such they are affected by human limitations, of all sorts; they may be controlled and often are controlled, by evil influences, but in the final analysis right will prevail and justice triumph.

We have for years hoped in vain almost for some pronouncement from a court of competent jurisdiction declaring invalid the "grand father clause" in the revised Constitutions of the Southern States, and it may be that years yet will intervene before such a hope will be realized, but of this we are content—the framers of these palpable wrongs never dreamed that white men would have to endure the train of evils following in the wake of their crafty legislation, and that other white men, seeing and enduring these wrongs for themselves, will be forced for self protection to strike them from the laws of their commonwealths. It looks strangely like a case of the biter getting bitten.

COLOR LINE DRAWN

The Afro-American
Special to The Afro-American Ledger.

Dover, Del., March 11.—The

color line has been drawn by the Democratic party in Kent county. The restriction is one of the provisions indorsed yesterday by the county committee in connection with the direct primary law and reads as follows:

"No person shall vote at a Democratic primary election in Kent county who is not a white male citizen and who if requested so to do by any person present refuses to pledge himself at the time he offers to vote to vote for the candidates of the Democratic party nominated at such primary election."

DEGENERATION OF

The WHITE VIRGINIA

Candid Admission That Suffrage in the Hands of White Men
2-12-14
(From the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot.)

The leaven which worked to bring about the recent political revolution in Norfolk County and the effort to obtain a change in the direction of public affairs in Norfolk City is off the same stump which is inducing the people of Southwest Virginia to organize against the corruptions which have so long vitiated the ballot and demoralized the electorate in that section, and which has impelled the citizens of Richmond to form an association with the object of so increasing the qualified vote of that city that elections may in some measure reflect the will of the body of the people.

The unrest of which these movements are manifestations is an evidence, first, that considerable elements of the eligible voting population have become conscious of the recreancy to civic duty of which in various ways and different degrees they have been guilty; second, that there is a widespread recognition of the fact that sins of omission and commission in this respect have been largely responsible for anything that is defective in the quality of the government or in the fitness or character of the persons administering it; third, that the condition of affairs so produced has acted and reacted to give to public officials working together to that common end a control of political machinery almost absolute and an influence over the result of elections, in which a mere fraction of the citizenship participate, practically conclusive. When an electorate dwindles in number until the contingent wishes regularly answers roll-call at the polls consists chiefly of office holders and their underlings and relatives, and those susceptible for one reason or another to direct influence by these, the establishment of a political and official dynasty follows almost as a matter of course, and thereafter it is a foregone conclusion that "The System" shall become more and more arrogant and masterful in assuming that political parties and the assuming that political parties and the were instituted only as instrumentall-

ties for the uses and abuses of officialdom. In this connection it is illuminating to note what Mr. W. T. Dabney, business manager of Richmond's Chamber of Commerce, had to say on this particular point before a meeting held on Monday night last of the Young Men's Registration League of that city:

"Many of the most important officers in the city government are to be elected, and unless there is an increased vote through the agency of the young men's registration committee the election will be in the hands of an electorate, composed chiefly of city employees or those influenced directly by such persons. The City of Richmond has in its employ about 1,400 men, all of them qualified voters, whose votes and personal influence practically control the entire vote of the city. This is because of the small number of voters outside of this particular set. Your work should place the control of the election beyond such an electorate and

when this occurs, then Richmond will be nearly ideal as possible."

This statement is emphasized by reflecting that Richmond is credited with a population at least one-third larger than that given to Norfolk by the last official estimate of the Census Bureau; and yet at the elections held last week the vote polled in Norfolk under the impulse of a movement similar to that just inaugurated in Richmond not only greatly exceeded that cast in Richmond on the same day, but was far ahead of any brought to the polls in this city for twelve years past, and led to changes in the personnel of the city government which could not possibly have been effected had the expression of the popular will been confined to the fractional element heretofore constituting a majority of the minority exercising the elective franchise.

It may be conjectured by persons who, either from interested or sympathetic motives, are satisfied with conditions as they are, that the outcome of a fuller qualification for and participation in elections on the part of citizens eligible to suffrage might not lead to improvement either in the character of public officials or in methods of conducting the public business. Instances may be pointed out in the greater cities of the North and West where everybody who is entitled rallies to the ballot box on election day, "and then some." But this is to carry the impeachment of Virginia's total electorate beyond the point of imputing to it inexcusable lethargy in regard to civic duties, and to charge it with lack of intelligence, which, if existing, would demonstrate the failure of democratic institutions and the hopelessness of that ideal which can only find realization in a government "of or by," as well as "for the people."

Abdication by any large proportion of the people of a State or city or county of their prerogative in this regard incidentally leads to the building up of oligarchies which gladly assume the reins of power so relinquished and employ them with ever augmenting contempt for the only true sources of authority and with ever increasing disposition to treat as their very own the business entrusted to them as fiduciary agents. In Chicago or New York the situation is not that which obtains in Virginia. Here the citizenship has not been adulterated by the

unregulated influx of elements who have no more conception of the obligations devolved on them by their new-born privileges than would so many infants suddenly called on to perform the functions of adults. No just parallel can be drawn between cases so utterly dissimilar. There the more fiercely burn the fires of interest in an election, the more scum rises to the top of the pot. Here the great body of the eligible electorate is composed of classes of which those members are exceptions who are wanting in the essential qualifications for self-government. There is heterogeneity; here homogeneity. There a great percentage of the voting population is as yet but a lump of unleavened dough. Here the percentage is negligible of those who are unassimilated with their political surroundings or wanting in that knowledge of and reverence for free institutions which is born of inheritance as well as education.

At least it is true that democracy cannot maintain itself on the basis of minority rule any more than a pyramid can find safe foundation on its apex.

We want to again remind the colored citizens of Norfolk that an election for members of the city council will be held next June, and there is every reason why the colored voters should prepare to make themselves felt in this election. In our present situation we will have little choice if any in the selection of candidates, but at the polls we can exert considerable influence in the election of men to represent us in the city government. In the last election there were less than three hundred Negro voters, who could have and did in one or two instances, turn the result of the contest. There are now about seven hundred on the qualified list, provided those who are not registered will do so. We make no bones of the fact that if the Negroes in Monroe ward ever expect to get what is due them from the city government there will have to be a change of representatives from that ward in both branches of the council.

NASHVILLE, TENN

Bureau

OCT 7 1914

NEGRO VOTERS OF FIRST WARD MEET

A large and enthusiastic meeting of

the colored voters of the First Ward was held last night at the corner of Sixth Avenue and Coffee Street. There were quite a number of white voters present also, and the total attendance was about two hundred. The speakers were Dr. J. B. Fowler, Horace Starks and H. E. Cole. A Hooper and Sadler Club was organized, with the following officers: Rev. Powell, President; Emanuel Gibbs, Vice-President, and Omah Stratton, Secretary.

The following resolutions were passed:

"We hereby reaffirm our allegiance to the Republican party. The history of this state is in large measure the story of its achievements, and we believe the continued prosperity and glory of our state must come through the agency of its teachings and its policies, but its crowning glory, we believe, is the administration of Ben W. Hooper. He was our choice before his nomination and he is our choice now."

"The Republicans of the First Ward are the friends of the Confederate soldier. The patriotism of Capt. Sadler and his valor are a splendid heritage to the whole country. Our state has contributed much, but her regiments of Confederate soldiers are her chief pride, and it is a satisfaction to still be able to select from the 'thin gray line' for the public service the hero, William G. Sadler, for Railroad Commissioner of Tennessee."

Washington, Del.

EVERY EVENING

JUL 2 1914

The extent of the negro registration is of importance by reason of the fact that the negro vote of the State is a solid asset of one political party—the Republican—with a possibility, however, of its solidity being impaired to some extent by the inroads of the Progressive party. A few negroes voted with the Progressives at the 1912 election, but the great bulk of the vote went with the Republican party, as usual.

The showing of the negro vote in comparison with the official figures of population is in accord with the general showing made by comparing the entire vote with the population totals. In each case and in the general result it is seen that in contrast to other States, Delaware is a veritable hive of voters.

Is there any reason for this remarkable supremacy in voting capacity?

Whether the enfranchisement of the Negro was a blunder or not is an academic question, in this day and generation. It is an accomplished fact. It cannot be undone. The Negro and the nation have prospered under the equitable War Amendments. To repeat them would be to pronounce the statesmanship of Lincoln a failure, the prowess of Grant a farce, and the sacrifices of Phillips, Garrison and Stevens of no avail. The question before the house is how the Negro may justify the wisdom of his emancipators and make the best of the opportunities presented by his freedom. The future holds the answer.

GOV. STUART SPEAKS PLAINLY

The Richmond Planet 3-9-14
**A "Heart to Heart" Talk to Colored Folks—Pledges to Them
"a Square Deal."**

A Reference to the Past—Opposed to Equal Political Rights Under the Law—Should Yield Right to Hold Office

The Colored Y. M. C. A., under the skillful management of General Secretary S. C. Burrell had a largely attended rally at the Fifth Street Baptist Church last Sunday afternoon. President John S. Powell presided. The feature was an address by His Excellency, H. C. Stuart, Governor of Virginia, upon the subject, "Manhood."

Governor Stuart was introduced by a prominent white Virginian, in the person of Mr. Burnett Lewis. He recounted the achievements of other prominent Virginians and concluded with naming Hon. H. C. Stuart, the speaker of the afternoon. Prior to the introduction of the Governor, Mr. Walter D. Jones, who comes from a family of songsters had led in singing, "Give me the Old Time Religion."

HIS EXCELLENCY APPLAUDED.

When His Excellency arose to speak, contrary to the usual custom in a church on Sunday, hand-clapping applause greeted him. Gov. Stuart spoke of his affection for his black mammy, who was dead and gone and paid a tribute to her Christian piety. Tears welled up to his eyes as he spoke of her and then he told of a friend of his boy-hood days, an old colored servant, who had played with him and over whose grave he had erected a monument as a testimonial to his sterling qualities.

Gov. Stuart declared that he had in mind colored people in whose hands he would trust any amount of money, his children or any valuable possession he had in the world.

A RICH HERITAGE.

He impressed upon his hearers the necessity of possessing reliability and character. It was a rich heritage. When this is lost, all is lost. "I

came here," said he, "to give you assurance of the friendliness of my administration for the colored people. I wish though to speak plainly to you. I am in favor of your people having all of your rights, with the understanding that you have no part in the government of this country. The white people have had the experience of several thousand years.

THE WHITE PEOPLE'S POSITION.

"The white people do not propose that you shall participate with them in the governing of the people of this country. This is the view of the South and if you will accept this view and consider this question settled, all other questions can be left to the people North of the Potomac for settlement. I have always said that there would never be any trouble if the questions be left to the best class of white people and the best class of Negroes.

IN FAVOR OF ADVANCEMENT.

"I am in favor of your advancing as far and as rapidly as you can if you do not jostle us on our side of the line. I will say more: I am willing for you to make any progress which it is possible for you to make if you confine your efforts to your own people. In fact, I am willing to give you the opportunity to outstrip us if you can and will do it among your own people.

"A SQUARE DEAL."

"While I am Governor, I assure you that you shall have a square deal. The statement which I have made is the decree of the Ages, the two races must live apart. You need us and we need you in accordance with the plans that I have outlined."

He quoted from the utterances of Dr. Booker T. Washington, whom he declared to be the wisest representa-

tive the colored race had produced. "The colored man," he said, "had always responded to the call of the United States government, and it was the colored Regiment that had saved the Rough Riders from annihilation at San Juan Hill."

A SECOND THOUGHT.

With an apparent second thought, Gov. Stuart concluded with the remark that there would come a time when there would be no discrimination on account of race or color. He concluded abruptly and the audience was left wondering as to when that time would come. Whether it would be at the time of the millennium or at the time of the race's entrance into Heaven, was left to conjecture.

President John S. Powell spoke. Chorister W. D. Jones led "America" and His Excellency and his associate passed out to the waiting automobile, while the people discussed among themselves what had been said and expressed opinions relative to one of the most surprising addresses that had ever been delivered to the colored folks of Richmond city.

Summary Of Who May Vote

And Register In The State-Wide Prohibition

The Journal & Guide 4-25-14

1. Any registered and otherwise qualified voter who paid all his state poll taxes for the three years next preceeding the six months before the second Tuesday in November, 1913, may vote.
2. Any registered and otherwise qualified voter who paid all his state poll taxes for three years, 1911, 1912, 1913, on or before December 9, 1913, may vote.
3. Any old soldier who is on

the permanent list of 1902-03, whether he has paid his poll tax or not, may vote.

REGISTRATION

1. Any young man becoming of age before September 22, 1914 (prohibition special election day) who has prior to this date paid his state poll tax of \$1.50 may register at any time before the prohibition election, and if so registered, and state poll tax of \$1.50 paid for one year, may vote.
2. Any person whose state poll taxes were satisfactorily paid for three years next preceeding the November election of 1913, or the June election of 1914, but who is

not registered may register at any time before the prohibition election day, September 22, 1914.

Note—(a) Young men becoming of age before the prohibition election cannot vote unless they have both paid their poll taxes and been registered.

(b) Judges of election must have from clerks of their respective courts certified copies of the treasurer's list of poll-tax-paid persons for both November, 1914, elections.

IGNORING AN INJUSTICE AT HOME TO SEEK ONE ABROAD.

(From The Evening Mail, N. Y.)

"You know what a big question there is in Mexico," said President Wilson, speaking in historic Independence Square, in Philadelphia, on the 4th of July; "eighty-five per cent. of the Mexican people have never been allowed to have a look-in in regard to their government and the rights which have been exercised by the other 15 per cent."

That is a big question, certainly—for the Mexicans. Not so big for us here in the United States, because we have electoral anomalies quite as strange at home, with which we are immediately concerned.

Mr. Wilson makes a plea for the disfranchised 85 per cent. in Mexico—a body of people not disfranchised by law, but by their own indifference to the whole machinery of government; people unable to read or write, often speaking some barbarous tribal language and knowing nothing about the men or the interests that are being fought about over their heads. Mr. Wilson is worried about these people; but it apparently means nothing at all to him, even when he stands on the very spot where was proclaimed the doctrine that "all men are created equal," that in one-third of the states of the American Union a large proportion or even a majority of the citizens are disfranchised by direct enactment.

Mr. Wilson is humanely sympathetic with the disfranchised Mexican peons; They are not now illiterate, but are a people for whom good schools are maintained; who can read and write; who speak the language of the country, read its literature and are interested in its history, its men; its public proceedings, and who are not disfranchised because they are illiterate, but only because they are black.

Mr. Wilson has seen these people in our own country enfranchised after a struggle in which many thousands of lives and millions of treasure were sacrificed in order that these words might be written into the constitution of the United States: "The right of citizens to vote shall not be denied because of race, color or previous condition of servitude." He is sworn to obey this charter of citizenship; yet apparently it does not give him any concern that, after all was done to enfranchise them, they are deprived of the vote by one pretext or another in a third of the states.

Mr. Wilson's motive in interesting himself in the disfranchised Mexican peons is undoubtedly humanitarian. But why ignore so plain a fact in our own land in order to justify interference in another country?

Is This Primary Reform?

The Journal & Guide
Governor Stuart has made some suggestions to the legislature for the enactment of laws to bring about reforms in the state election laws. One of his suggestions sets forth that "no person belonging to a class that has been excluded by the proper party authorities should be permitted to vote in the primaries of that party." This is intended to bar the intelligent Negro from party affiliation, and in view of the constitutional amendments enacted by Mr. Stuart's party restricting Negro suffrage to an almost negligible element in politics, we do not see wisdom nor justice in his course. The Richmond Times-Dispatch sees danger in the adoption of any such provision and very wisely suggests that "this proposal be left open for future consideration." We are waiting with bated breath the outcome of the Governor's recommendation.

MORE WHITES THAN BLACKS

The N. Y. Amsterdam
Times Table Shows Larger Number of Unqualified Males Among the Caucasians. 3-13-14

From Representative Towne's report on the bill providing for a Federal inquiry into the causes of illiteracy, in which is included the declaration that there are "2,273,603 illiterate males of 21 years and over in the United States, enough to determine any national election at any period in our history," the conclusion would naturally be drawn that a new and disquieting condition had arisen in the nation. Such is not the case. The census figures show that the number of white and black illiterates in the United States had decreased substantially between 1900 and 1910, a decrease that is expected to continue during the present decade. The figures showing the total number of illiterates and their percentage of the whole population are: Illiterates over 10 years of age in 1900, whites 3,200,746, 6.2 per cent; in 1910, 3,184,954, 5.0 per cent. Colored in 1900, 2,853,194, 44.5 per cent; in 1910, 2,228,687, 30.4 per cent.

Moreover, how many of Mr. Towne's 2,273,603 male illiterates of voting age have the ballot? A large proportion of them must be colored in the South, who are barred from the polls, and hence cannot "determine any national election."

Suffrage - 1914

SEGRATING REPUBLICANS

St Louis Central Afro American 5-23-14

The practice of various branches of the Republican Party in putting the Negro voters off to themselves, and shutting them out of the party councils in the formation of campaign plans, is arousing a dangerous feeling of resentment, which is assuming the nature of a slumbering volcano.

Especially is it true of some wards in this city, where the Negro voters are directed to hold separate meetings, where the only work they can accomplish is to carry out the instructions given them by the advocates of this segregation idea. It is an idea entirely foreign to true Republican principles, having no place upon the roll of honor with the names of Lincoln, Sumner, Grant, Douglas and others, but very properly belongs in the category of ideas advocated by Vardaman, Tillman, Blease and their ilk.

No separate meetings are necessary for the German, Irish, Jew, Italian or any English-speaking race of Republicans, then why in the name of all that is honest and fair are such meetings necessary for Negro Republicans. Negroes do not demand more than their share of recognition in appointments, based upon their numerical strength, and they will never be satisfied with less. All voters in the Republican Party should have the right to express their preferences for men who desire their support at the polls, and this can only be done by Negro representatives being admitted to the party councils where the selections of the party organization are discussed. This is the only method we know of whereby the party organizations can in all truth act for a "government of the people by the people, and for the people."

The mooted question now for all true white Republicans to answer for themselves is: shall the Negro Republican receive fair play, or shall we invite further defections from the party by catering to the petty prejudices of a class of men who are Republicans for profit only?

The Central Afro-American has always fought for the Republican Party to the limit, and shall continue to do so as long as possible, but we desire to say here that acts of unfairness to the Negro by white Republicans makes our fight far more difficult than all the opposition from Democratic sources.

Let us have ONE PARTY COUNCIL participated in by representatives of ALL NATIONALITIES, then we shall have TRUE HARMONY, and a singleness of purpose that will sweep aside all opposition.

BRIEF CURRENT COMMENT

The suffragettes have learned that President Wilson can conceal, as well as express, opinions. They don't yet know whether he favors votes for women on general principles or not.—Houston Chronicle.

There was really no necessity for him to express himself on that proposition, so long as he wisely held that the privilege of the ballot should be determined by the several states, as it always has been and doubtless will be in effect regardless of any meddling on the part of the federal government.

Monte Suber 1-15-14
Editor The Advertiser:

In The Advertiser of a December issue, is a communication from Mrs. Laura J. Stern, in which she writes: "Suffragists are aware of the neatness of our election laws. They know about the grandfather clause, and they know this same clause as much a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment when used to disfranchise negro men as it is if used to disfranchise negro women, and yet the same clause is just as much in jeopardy from its use in the one case as the other."

It is strange that any person should assert that there is a grandfather clause in the Constitution of Alabama, for if they would only read Sec. 181, of our Constitution, they will see that since January 1, 1903, the only qualification required of men to vote, is that they be able to read and write, and have been residents of the precinct, county and State for the required time and are not disqualified by reason of having been convicted of some crime named in Sec. 182.

A casual reading of Sections 178, 181 and 182, of our Constitution, should satisfy any one, that these sections, which are all of our Constitution touching the qualifications of electors now in force, do not in the least conflict with any provision of the Constitution of the United States.

The power of the State to prescribe the qualifications of electors is "supreme and exclusive," and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States did not attempt to confer on Congress any power to prescribe these qualifications but simply gave Congress the power to prevent any State from denying or abridging the right of male citizens of the United States to vote, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

These provisions of the Constitution of the United States have several times been construed by the Supreme Court of the United States and that court has uniformly held that neither, nor both of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments did not give any power to Congress to prescribe qualifications of voters.

As the law is now, the State of Alabama has the right and power, by an amendment to the Constitution of the State, to confer the right to vote on women, and it may select such women as it sees fit upon whom this right may be conferred, and in making this selection, the State will not be under the restrictions of the Federal Constitution, for by the express terms thereof, the power to prevent denial of or discrimination in the exercise of the right to vote, is confined to "male" citizens of the United States, and this leaves the State free to discriminate in selecting the women upon whom the right to vote may be conferred.

How will it be, in the event an amendment to the Federal Constitution, prohibiting the States from denying the right to vote on account of sex?

It seems to me very clear, that the State, by such an amendment to the Federal Constitution, would not thereafter have the power to confer the right to vote on white women only, who were otherwise qualified.

Those persons who are urging the amendment to the Federal Constitution so as to confer the right to vote on women, are unmindful of the fact that the Federal government is the creature of the States, and that the sovereign States were the creators of the Federal government and retained all the powers of sovereign States, except those delegated by the Federal Constitution, which is a compact between the States, to the Federal government.

Every true Democrat favors a strict construction of the Federal Constitution and is opposed to granting to that government any more powers than it now enjoys, for every such grant diminishes the power of the States and concentrates power in Congress.

It seems to me that this is a great constitutional question that should be discussed with reason, thought, and that no appeal to passion, or prejudice should be made, nor any threat of coercion from without, should be made with the purpose of hurrying up State action.

This question should be, and can be settled by the people of Alabama as they see fit, and no appeal to outside influences and especially no threats of coercion should be injected into this discussion, or into the settlement of this great question.

Am I reasonable, or out of date, in appealing to our women to reason out this question, and not to threaten to force us to accept what we do not want.

SAMUEL WILL JOHN.

MASS. SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
SOUTHERN WOMAN'S SPEECH
The Executive Board
REGRET PUBLICLY EXPRESSED
OVER REMARKS OF MRS.
DESHA BRECKINRIDGE IN TREMONT TEMPLE ON THE COLOR LINE BY CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE BOARD OF MASS. WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the Post:

Sir—At the meeting lately held in Tremont Temple by the National Suffrage Association, a speaker from the South made some remarks on the race question, which have aroused some apprehension among our Colored fellow citizens. I sincerely regret this, and I am sure that my feeling is shared by our entire State Board.

Every speaker at that meeting spoke as an individual, and expressed only her individual opinions. The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association draws no Color line. It is working to secure the ballot for all Massachusetts women who possess the qualifications required of men, without any discriminations on account of "race, creed, color or previous condition of servitude." Sincerely,

GERTRUDE HALLADAY LEONARD.
Chairman Massachusetts Executive Board.

Boston, April 7, 1914
WOMEN ORGANIZE A
The New Suffrage Club
Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.

WILMINGTON, Del., March 23—The colored women of this city have organized a club to study female suffrage, with the following officers: Mrs. Alice M. Dunbar, president; Mrs. George J. Sykes, vice-president; Mrs. Bessie Dorrell, secretary, and Mrs. Fannie Hamilton, treasurer. 3-26-14

At a meeting to discuss suffrage, held Thursday, March 19, at the residence of Mrs. George Sykes, among those present, besides the newly elected officers, were Mrs. J. B. Stubbs, Mrs. M. Woodlen, Mrs. S. E. Hamilton, Miss Sarah Tate, Miss Mary Taylor, Miss Helen Anderson, Miss Nellie Nicholson, Miss Carolina B. Williams, Miss Alice G. Baldwin and Miss Edwards.

June 1914

CALL TO COLORED VOTERS

Negro Civic League Urges Them to Register This Fall.

At a meeting of the Negro Civic League held Monday night at Afro-American Hall, Druid Hill avenue and Eutaw street, which was attended by colored citizens from nearly every ward in the city, resolutions were passed calling attention to the necessity for a full registration of the colored voters. This organization is not working in the interest of any particular party, as was evidenced by the number of Republicans, Bull Moosers and Democrats present, but they have in view only one object and that is to get every colored man in the city to have his name placed on the registration books. They claim that with a full registration, it will be better for all parties, because the colored people will be in a position to think and act for themselves in voting on home rule questions and a large colored vote will mean something to the community, when it comes to the enactment of laws for the city.

John W. Rich is chairman of the league, which was organized several weeks ago, and Alexander Williams, secretary.

POLL TAX RECEIPTS HEAVIER THAN EVER

Approximately 3,000 Receipts Issued Up to Midnight When Books Were Closed by Collector Sheehan

Advised User 2-1-14
2-1-14

When the office of Tax Collector W. T. Sheehan closed at 12 o'clock Saturday night and the poll tax books were closed for the year, a record had been broken in this county. Not only because there were more paid as a total but because of the fact that each day since the books were opened October 1, the record has been higher than on the corresponding day of the previous year. A total of 2,996 paid their poll taxes this year.

Last year was considered an "off year." During the tax period of that year there were only about 2,000 poll taxes paid. Although it was a time when there was no special inducement for voters to qualify, it was not much below the average for since the present system was inaugurated in 1901, the number has fallen far short of the payment of the present year.

ment for voters to qualify, it was not much below the average for since the present system was inaugurated in 1901, the number has fallen far short of the payment of the present year.

Politicians and others who watched the number rise during yesterday said last night it would indicate a vote of 1,500 in the primary of April 6. They also stated that it would mean there would be a qualified vote of 5,000 in this county if it could be gotten out.

The large increase of poll tax payers this year is attributed to activities of candidates in the race for sheriff of this county; aspirants to the Legislature and efforts of friends of Oscar W. Underwood and Richmond P. Hobson, candidates for the Senate, and the candidates for Governor.

These people, according to the tax officials, worked hard all day and their friends had small chance to forget to qualify.

The last receipt, as usual, went to Julius Rice, who has had this distinction for a number of years.

Although the office of the Tax Collector was kept open until midnight, it was crowded all during the day and until a late hour. The officials were not lonesome when the clock announced the books closed permanently.

Baltimore Md American

13

COLORED REPUBLICANS.

A meeting of the colored Republicans in the Fifth ward was held last Thursday at 421 North Central avenue, and the Fifth Ward Colored Republican Club was organized by electing the following officers: President, John H. Ferguson; vice president, Frank Hughes; secretary, Andrew Brown; treasurer, Baltimore Brown; sergeant-at-arms, Joseph Purviance.

After an address by Henry C. Horner, the Republican executive of the ward, the club unanimously indorsed Edward C. Carrington, Jr., for United States senator, and John A. Janetzke, for Congress from the Third congressional district. The president was authorized to appoint a registration committee of five from each precinct to get the Republican vote registered.

TACOMA, Wash
LEDGER

POLITICAL MEETING OF COLORED VOTERS

National Association Calls Gathering for Next Friday—Oakland Republican Leader One of Speakers.

There will be a mass meeting for colored voters, women as well as men,

Friday at 8 p. m. at the Olivet Baptist

church, South I and 18th streets, under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mrs. Tobe Williams of Oakland, Cal., president of the Colored Woman's Republican club, will be one of the speakers.

TO END THE NEGRO'S VOTE.

Vardaman to Bring His Fight to an Issue in the Senate.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19.—An effort to rid the Constitution of the United States of the Fifteenth Amendment will be made within the next few days by Senator James K. Vardaman of Mississippi. For twenty years Mr. Vardaman has been working to this end. He also will propose modifications in the Fourteenth Amendment.

Since early manhood Senator Vardaman has been active in protesting against the right of citizens of the United States to vote, regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. In his propaganda for the disfranchisement of the negro he has lectured in nearly every part of the United States. He has written extensively on the race question, and now expects to carry his fight to the floor of the Senate. He also intends to introduce a bill providing for "Jim Crow" cars in the District of Columbia.

From
Published at
Date

Colored Republican Club Will Bar All Money Takers

NEW ORGANIZATION WILL EVEN INSIST ON PAYING OWN CAMPAIGN EXPENSES, TABOOING THE ACCEPTANCE OF ANY FUNDS FOR ANY POLITICAL PURPOSE WHATEVER

A Republican club composed of colored voters which was organized last night at a hall on Eighth avenue, has for its second principle the determination to accept no money for any purpose whatever for the maintenance of the club or the conduct of its campaign save that which is regularly paid in by the members themselves on dues or assessments. Moreover the membership is to be limited so as to exclude from participation any voter who is inclined to accept money in any form in connection with his political activities. They feel, as one of their members said last night, that

RACE WOMEN MAKE GOOD SHOWING IN SUFFRAGE PARADE.

Mrs. Miller Proudly Carries Banner and Little Lylie Lewis Makes Hit as "Uncle Sam"—Ida B. Wells-Barnett Only Commandant.

The Chicago Defender 5-1-14
By Viola E. Hill.

The race women made an excellent showing in the suffrage parade last Saturday. Over three hundred took part. Mrs. Goins, the vice-president of the Political Study Club, marshaled the women under the Progressives under Mrs. Medill McCormick; while Mrs. Crawford, the president of the Oloha Political Club, was assistant to Mrs. Harold Ickes of the Progressives. Mrs. Gilmer of the Thirtieth ward assembled the women of her ward and marched under the banner of the Woman's Party of Cook County.

Mrs. Ida B. Wells-Barnett, president of the Alpha Suffrage Club, was the only Afro-American commandant in the parade. Mrs. Miller bore proudly the banner of the Alpha Suffrage Club all the way of the line of march. Little Lylie Lewis, dressed as Uncle Sam, was a novel feature of the day. He was cheered loudly from the grand stand, and Governor Dunne returned his salute. After the parade several of the members of the Alpha Suffrage Club attended the banquet at the Hotel La Salle, where their president was among the speakers. The women received compliments from Mesdames George Bass, Medill McCormick, Grace Wilbur Trout, Henrotin and others. Indeed, all Chicago should be proud of the impression that they made, and of the significance of their unity in the parade.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS CENTER.

The Douglass Center rejoices over the successful outcome of its protest to the Chicago Political League over the rejection of two Afro-American women who applied for membership. A meeting was called by the president and a few members of the Center and it was voted to send letters to the other members, asking each to send a letter of inquiry and protest to the League. Nearly 100 letters were sent. As this was immediately prior to the meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, word was received that the League would take up the matter at its first meeting after the biennial. This meeting took place last Saturday, when three women were elected members Mrs. Fannie Barrier Williams, Mrs. Elizabeth L. Davis and Mrs. George C. Hall. The League by that action has evidently decided that the color line has no place in a suffrage organization. Such action is not only eminently sound and just in principle, but a deserved recognition of the work of Afro-American women in the last election campaign. The Political Equality League will receive the commendation of all fair-minded people. Sunday afternoon, June 28, at 4 o'clock, Rev. Burkholder, pastor of the Washington Park Congregational Church, will speak on "Friendship the Master Passion." Vocal music by Mr. Opal Cooper.

Senator Borah of Idaho, in the U. S. Senate, this week, said the woman's suffrage cause can not triumph through Federal action unless the Negro is disfranchised. It was not necessary to ring in the Negro race in the argument. The race question and the woman's suffrage are not related. Our cause should not be prejudiced by playing an irrelevant something against us. It goes to prove how far the practical politician will go to win. Such questions are not for the practical politician. They seek immediate ends unmindful of the costs. We rise above merely race partisanship to say, Messrs Borah, Fillman and their likes are doing the country great harm. There is no opportunity or general desire to cut out Negro citizenship.

DECISIONS WITHHELD ON FRANCHISE LAWS

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 24.—The Supreme Court of the United States adjourned Monday, June 22, until October, leaving fourteen cases, in which arguments had been made, undecided. Among the decisions withheld are the cases involving the constitutionality of the grandfather clauses limiting the rights of Negroes to vote in Oklahoma and Annapolis, Md.

Republican ticket in Cabell county this fall and on succeeding election occasions. The membership is large

Suffrage - 1914

ANOTHER REPUBLICAN GONE

WRONG.

The Richmond Planet
3-21-14

Were it not for the fact that United States Senator William E. Borah of Idaho is being spoken of as a probable candidate and nominee of the Republican Party for the presidency of the United States we would not pay any attention to what he says. The Washington Post of the 18th inst. has this to say in its news columns:

Senator Borah, of Idaho, prominently mentioned as a probable candidate for the Republican nomination for President, yesterday expressed his convictions on female suffrage, the treatment of the colored men in the South, States' rights, immigration, and the Japanese situation on the coast, fearlessly and boldly.

It continues:

In a vigorous speech he defended

women's suffrage, but to the astonishment of the female occupants of the galleries declared it was impracticable and impossible to obtain through constitutional amendment, so long as the fifteenth amendment remained unrepealed. Equal suffrage must be obtained only through the separate States, he said.

And again:

Senator Borah predicted that after fifteen years of vain endeavor the women would renew their abandoned request for the ballot before the people of the States, because in seeking an amendment to the Federal Constitution they had loaded themselves down with the color question, the Japanese question, and a dozen other States' rights problems.

There is much more. Here it is:

Responding to a question by Senator Thomas, Senator Borah said he would vote for the repeal of the fifteenth amendment, if only by so doing could equal suffrage be obtained.

The fifteenth amendment, giving colored men the right to vote, the senator declared, was a blunder, engendered in a spirit of retaliation, with the result that after the first blush of satisfaction the North had connived at the South's violation of it. The amendment infringed upon State rights, and might furnish a

precedent for an amendment declaring that her right to hold real estate or attend school should not be denied because of race or color.

Here then is a United States Senator, sworn to maintain and support the Constitution of the United States and to recognize the civil and political rights of all men before the law, pledged to the platform principles of the Republican Party which Party championed the Fifteenth Amendment, boldly declaring that he would vote for the repeal of this War Amendment, to the Constitution of the United States.

He hails, not from Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi or Texas, but from the bleak climate of Idaho, a State in the Far North. If he could be induced to advocate the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment, it would be but one step to the repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment and but two steps to the repeal of the Thirteenth Amendment, and then would come a war of extermination, with the colored people to be the victims to be exterminated.

Was the enactment of these amendments a blunder, engendered in a spirit of retaliation? Let us see! Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, who commanded colored troops at Fort Harrison, a few miles below this city and who witnessed a charge of the black regiment paid to them the following tribute:

"It became my painful duty, sir, to follow in the track of that charging column, and there, in a space not wider than the Clerk's desk and three hundred yards long, lay the dead bodies of five hundred and forty-three of my colored comrades, fallen in defense of their country, who had offered up their lives to uphold its flag and its honor, as a willing sacrifice; and as I rode along among them, guiding my horse this way and that way lest he should profane with his hoof what seemed to me the sacred dead, and as I looked on their bronzed faces upturned in the shining sun to Heaven, as if in mute appeal against the wrongs of the country for which they had given their lives, and whose flag had only been to them a flag of stripes, on which no star of glory had ever shone for them,—feeling I had wronged them in the past and believing what was the future of my country to them,—among my dead comrades there I swore to myself a solemn oath,—“May my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my

mouth,” if ever I fail to defend the rights of these men who had given their blood for me and my country this day, and for their race forever; and, God helping me, I will keep that oath.

“From that hour, all prejudice was gone, and an old-time States-right Democrat became a lover of the Negro race, and as long as their rights are not equal to the rights of other men under this Government, I am with them against all comers; and when their rights are assured, as other men's rights are held sacred, then I trust we shall have what we sought to have, a united country, North and South, white and black, under one glorious flag, for which we and our fathers have fought with an equal and not to be distinguished valor.”

Senator Borah is not moved by sentiment. He is chilled by the winds of political expediency. This tribute of Gen. Butler to the colored troops, whose valor became celebrated wherever they were seen in action gives the answer to his assertions, and flatly contradicts them. Senator Borah is quoted further:

“Until some plan is devised by which the colored man is allowed to exercise the right to vote given him under the fifteenth amendment I shall not consent to write into the Constitution another provision that will be violated 365 days in every year.”

He would repeal the Amendment giving the colored man the right to vote and then he would insist upon the enforcement of the present Amendment in order to arouse sufficient sentiment against it to ensure its repeal. Then followed a discussion between Senator Vardaman and Senator Borah. Here are brief extracts from arguments of both:

The discussion of the color question brought the statement from Senator Vardaman that “time has not shown the colored man's capacity to participate in government or to rule the white man. While he has made

some improvement, he is today as incompetent and unreliable as 50 years ago.”

“I don't believe in all the history of the world,” replied Senator Borah, “that you can find a race that has improved so much as the colored man has in the same period of time.”

“In what respect?” interjected Senator Vardaman. “He is more criminal today than in 1861.”

“Oh, that is true of the white man, also,” retorted Mr. Borah. “We are a lawless people. The colored man

may not understand the workings of our government as we do, but no one has more loyalty for the flag. This government and the flag are his religion. He may do many things of which the white man may not approve, but from him we never hear a disloyal word.”

“Did you ever know one in your life whose vote could not be influenced by a few dollars?” queried the Mississippi senator.

“That,” retorted Senator Borah, “is an absurd argument. No colored man ever bribed himself. There usually are about 50 white men around trying to bribe. The colored man has withstood temptation with remarkable strength.”

It would seem then that Senator Borah indulged in “lightning changes.” When not interrupted, he would “put us out of business” in a constitutional way and when disputed he argued our side of the contention with the proverbial skill of a Philadelphia lawyer.

A white gentleman said to us the other day that the situation in Mexico was that of two rattlesnakes fighting each other. He wanted to know what else would a sensible onlooker do than keep on the outside of the fence and watch these reptiles kill each other. In reading the account of these two United States Senators, we thought of our white friend's comparison and felt that we had a similar case in the United States Senate at Washington.

Senator Borah may be our friend, but he has a blankety-blank way of showing it.

Philadelphia Public Ledger

4

May 1914

Pleads to the Colored Voters.

A plea to the colored voters of this State to “vote as they would pray” was made yesterday by the Rev. Dr. Sylvester L. Carrothers in the course of an address at Varick Institutional Temple. “In the approaching political contest in this State,” he said, “the colored man must use his political sense in wise discrimination. He should ask himself the question, ‘What is best for the masses and not for the special interest?’” The speaker urged that the colored man resist any attempts made by politicians to induce him to vote wrongfully in the May primaries.

THE COLORED VOTE.

To the Editor of The World:

I read with much interest this morning your splendid editorial on the cause of the defeat of the Democratic party in this State, and write to most heartily congratulate you on the same.

However, it seems to me that too little importance is attached to the colored vote, not only that of New York State but that of the country.

More than a half-million negroes are voting to-day, and they too must certainly be a factor in the defeat of the Democratic party this year, for nearly all of them voted the Republican ticket.

In the election of 1912 the negroes gave the largest vote ever given by them to the Democratic party and helped to elect the national ticket. They were assured by Mr. Wilson before election that in the event of his election he would give to the black men not “meagre but absolute justice.” The negro took him at his word, rejoicing that it was the first time since emancipation that a Democratic nominee had made so fair a promise.

After the inauguration of this able, earned and cultured gentleman, a committee of colored Democrats called upon him and reminded him of his

promise and were assured by him that his pre-election promises were made to be kept.

Influenced by certain radical elements of the South, one of the first acts of his Administration was the removal of W. H. Lewis, a colored man, from the office of Assistant Attorney-General, and his office was finally filled by a white man. This policy of the displacement of blacks by whites has been steadily pursued.

Under this fair pre-election promise the colored people have received but two important places—the Liberator mission, which has been held by colored men for ages, and one colored Judge of the District of Columbia, whose confirmation was unanimously opposed by the Democratic Senators from the South.

Is it not time that our Democratic friends be awakened to the fact that the black man is a factor in American politics?

There are ten or twelve millions of colored people in this country, and not once in two years has the President of this great Republic called in a committee of this vast host without representation in Congress, to consult with them concerning their welfare.

Another thing which has caused us to be discredited in the eyes of the world is that out of this ten million colored citizens not one is invited to a social function at the White House, and ip

this said to be greatest democ- negro in the South" program. Few or
racy in the world! No wonder that them will go to the Democratic party.
America throughout the world is It is all for the best. The negro has
branded as a nation of hypocrites. no place in American politics. The
ALEXANDER WALTERS, more positively he avoids politics and
President National Colored Democratic the more carefully he shuns politi-
League cians, all the better for him.

New York, Nov. 4.

Augusta, Ga

Chronicle

OCT 29 1914

Brooklyn Eagle

17 November 1914

try? Can any country afford to "mor- ally" offend ten million of its citizens? In time of war could the nation afford to have so many secret foes? What's the matter with statesmanship? Has it been reduced to a personal thing? The country, we think, will be saved in spite of narrow conceived individ- uals, yet to think that men make such exhibitions of themselves in such high places.

Providence, R. I.

OCT 30 1914

Colored Voters Rally.

Many colored voters of the Seventh Ward attended a political rally in the Wadsworth Street A. M. E. Zion Church Wednesday night to listen to speeches on city, State and national issues as they affect the colored people from George W. Parks, Councilman E. M. Bixby, Senator R. L. Beeckman, Herbert M. Sherwood, Clay Douglass, William H. Jackson, former Mayor Henry Fletcher and George A. Jepherson. L. C. Perry presided at the meeting and Fillmore R. Purnell was master of ceremonies. Prayer was offered by Rev. J. W. Pollett, pas- tor of the church.

THE NEGRO AND POLITICS.

The Republican party has ordered the reduction of the representation from the South in its national conven- tions.

This is the Republican party's family affair. The Republican party has the unquestioned right to make "its own rules in its own house" as it sees fit.

It is not necessary to point out that reduction of southern representa- tion in a Republican nominating con- vention means reduction of the negro representation. Whatever the Repub- lican party officials may say, this rep- resentation reduction, at this time, will appear as a sop to the Roosevelt Re- publicans. Roosevelt Republicans cod- dle the negro in the North and slap him in the face in the South.

To deliver this sop, the Republican party is punishing the southern negro in a way the southern negro will feel his punishment—punishing him for his steadfastness. For, say what you will of the southern negro dele- gate to the average Republican convention, but for the allegiance of the southern negro to home instruc- tions at Chicago in 1912—at a time when money by the thousands was flaunted in his face by Roosevelt ad- vocates—there would be precious little Republican party today. It would now be a Roosevelt party with Roosevelt men in control of every portion of its organization. Tempted as men were never before tempted—with money and everything else—the southern negro delegates stood by Charles D. Hilles and his committeemen and his "pat- ronage controllers" in the South. Whatever they may have done in the past, however they have been "round- ed up" or "sold out" in prior conven- tions, they stuck to Taft and Hilles in 1912 and no money and no promise could move them. The least break among them would have meant Roose- velt's nomination.

The negroes will resent this action of the Republican party. They must resent the Roosevelt "kick out the

A demand is being made in Ala- bama for a new Constitution that shall attempt something more than the disfranchisement of the negro. Four- teen years ago, when the present Con- stitution was adopted, that seemed to be the most desirable reform in sight. Alabama is one of the six States in the Union without compulsory education, and one in ten of her native whites can neither read nor write. Isadore Shapiro, elected to the next Legisla- ture, says: "Alabama misspends about \$3,000,000 annually for education, and doesn't hit the illiterate spots." The uplift of the white man with child- labor legislation and workmen's com- pensation, are also demanded. The ferment of reform is proceeding more slowly since the war, but it is ever at work in the South as elsewhere.

But Three Southern Senators Vote for Woman Suffrage Bill

Special to The Advertiser.
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 19—Only three Southern Senators voted in fa- vor of the woman's suffrage amend- ment, Ransdell of Louisiana, Sheppard of Texas and Owen of Oklahoma. As foreshadowed in Advertiser dispatches, the South and the Middle and New England States furnished the neces- sary votes to knock the proposition out in good fashion.

Today's result in the Senate indi- cates that this bothersome question is probably blocked for all time in Con- gress for it is a well known fact that many the Senators from the West who supported the suffrage amend- ment were not enthusiastic. Whatever progress the suffragette cause makes in future will have to come through State legislation entirely.

When Senator Bankhead's name was called on the final vote he answered "no," in a firm, loud voice.

Senator Borah has added his in- fluence toward reading the Negro citi- zens out of the benefit of the consti- tution. We would like to ask Mr. Borah what would a republic like ours do with a lot of people who had no interest in our institutions? Is it not better to make the most of the Negroes since they are here and so interwoven in the affairs of the coun-

Providence, R. I.

Bulletin

OCT 26 1914

Colored voters to meet.

A mass meeting of the colored voters of the city and State will be held next Wednesday evening, under the auspices of the colored citizen organization of the Seventh Ward, in the Wadsworth Street A. M. E. Zion Church. Political issues as they relate to the colored voters will be discussed by Senator Beeckman, Lieutenant Governor Burchard, George W. Parks, Joseph W. Henderson, and F. R. Purnell. Rev. J. W. Pellett will pre- side and music will be furnished by an orchestra.

Be Sure to Register

The Journal's Guide
During a whirlwind campaign last fall enough colored man paid their poll tax to bring the list of those qualified to vote up to about 700, provided, they are all register- ed. This moves us to say that prob- ably not more than half of them

are registered, and unless they do register within the prescribed time all of the efforts put forth last fall will be of no avail. A certified copy of the city treasurer's list showing the number of qualified voters is posted at each voting pre- cinct in the city. Voters are allow- ed by law thirty day from the date of posting of certified voting lists in which to apply to the court for correction in the event of failure of appearance of their names on said list.

Providence, R. I.

JOURNAL

OCT 12 1914

NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT IS SUBJECT FOR PROTEST

New England Suffrage League to
Act at Annual Convention.

To protest against the disfranchise- ment of colored voters in the South, the New England Suffrage League will meet for its 11th annual session this morning in the Belmont Avenue Zion Church in Worcester, Mass.

The call for the meeting attributes "denial of court justice, lack of ade- quate education, oppression, segregation and lynching in the South, and the spread of color prejudice in the North" to the fact that the colored men in the South are not allowed to vote in many instances. The call is signed by Wil- liam Monroe Trotter, President, and James H. Magnett, Secretary.

There will be business sessions at 10:30 in the morning and again at 2:30 in the afternoon. At 7:30 there will be a public mass meeting, at which the Mayor has promised to be present. President Trotter will deliver his annual address, and Joseph C. Manning of Alabama will be the orator of the occasion.

APR 19 1914

TO ADDRESS COLORED WOMEN.

The Women's Christian League, col- ored, will be addressed by Miss Jean- netta Fitzhugh, of the Civic Better- ment Club, at Shiloh Baptist Church, new site, Sunday, April 19, at 3:30 p. m. You and your friends are in- vited.

Mrs. Mollie A. Toncil, of Alexan- dria, will also speak at this meeting.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Herald

July 1914

NEGRO PASTOR PROTESTS

Protest against any move to disen- franchise the colored people of the coun- try and against the anti-negro stand taken by the National Democratic Fair Play Association was voiced by Rev. Dr. Simon P. Drew, pastor of the Cos- mopolitan Baptist Church, colored, in an address delivered at the tenth annual picnic of the church.

Senator Borah said that the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution is a dead letter. The statement is careless to say the least. Negroes are voting in every state in the union. It is known that most of the Southern Con- stitutions of the Southern States were framed so as to reduce the Negro vote, yet they all admit Negro voting. When those not voting qualify to meet the tests they will also vote. Many white men are similarly affected by the constitution in the southern states, meaning something of a spirit of fair- ness even if the Negroes "inspired" those instruments. So theoretically the condition is whole, and scarcely less so practically.

Suffrage - 1914

Washington Herald

15 November 1914

The Extent of the Colored Vote.

There are, in round numbers, 2,500,000 colored males of voting age and over in the United States. Nearly 2,000,000 live in the Southern States, where they are not allowed to vote. The colored voters are, however, a factor in Massachusetts, New York, Indiana, and Ohio, the figures reaching as high as 40,000 in the latter State.

The Democrats have never seriously endeavored to make any inroads into this voting strength. They knew it was hopeless. The Republicans naturally appeal to it, and through stump speakers and literature keep alive its interest in the Republican party. As a rule, the colored voters stick together. Knowing this, an effort was made in the pre-convention campaign of 1912 to secure it en-masse for President Taft's renomination. It will be remembered that President Roosevelt had dismissed a regiment or two on the ground of alleged participation in a serious disturbance at Brownsville, Tex. Senator Foraker's speech denouncing Mr. Roosevelt for this action was widely circulated among the colored people, and some of the noncommissioned officers of the regiment were employed to make speeches rehearsing the injustice which they had been made to suffer. All this, however, was of no avail. The results of the primaries showed that Mr. Roosevelt secured a very large proportion of the colored vote. It is only when there is a factional fight within the Republican party that any attention is paid to the colored vote.

It is difficult to see, therefore, where any political issue will arise out of the incident last week at the White House.

Dead Call Famous Warrior
OMAHA, NEB.
SEE

OCT 21 1914

Bewildlement of a Negro.
OMAHA, Oct. 20.—To the Editor of The Bee: What place have the negroes in the politics of this day and age? It is claimed by our superiors that they have no flag in politics, and I am at a loss to know which way they are drifting, for it seems as if they have been going wrong of late, and that they must drop the old parties, and join the new, the ladies' progressive party. Then they will have a flag to fight under and for.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Colored women of Wilmington, Delaware, have organized a suffrage club with Mrs. Alice M. Dunbar as president.

NASHVILLE, TENN

Banner

OCT 16 1914

COLORED VOTERS WILL HOLD MASS-MEETING

A negro Republican mass-meeting will be held to-night at 7:30 o'clock at Benevolent Hall, on Fortieth Avenue. Prominent negroes from all over the city will take part in the gathering, which is intended to solidify the colored vote of Nashville for Governor Hooper. The meeting is planned by the colored voters of the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Wards. It will be addressed by several officials of the state penitentiary. It is said that the prisoners at the penitentiary are anxious for Governor Hooper to be re-elected, on account of his kind treatment of the unfortunates.

Pittsburg Oct 16 Times

1 November 1914

Colored Voters' Meeting.

Colored voters of Allegheny county held a large Republican mass meeting in Labor Temple, Washington, Webster avenue. The issues of the campaign, which will be voted on, were explained by both the white and colored races. Among the speakers were Congressman A. J. Barchfeld, State Senator Charles H. Kline, Frank R. Steward, chairman of the Allegheny County Colored Voters Committee and Assemblyman Thomas P. Geary, the Republican candidate for re-election in the First Legislative district.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

Banner OCT 28 1914

OTERS ENDORSE HOOPER

Negro voters of the Second and Third Wards held a large and enthusiastic rally at the Scovell-street A. M. E. Church last night. The church was crowded, and there was much enthusiasm. The Merritt Band furnished the music and the issues of the campaign were discussed by Dr. J. D. Fowler and Rev. E. W. D. Isaac. Remarks were also made by S. H. Johnson, Wm. Crawford and others. Governor Hooper and Capt. Sadler were unanimously endorsed, and more than 200 negro voters pledged themselves to work day and night for the success of the ticket. Secretary Hayer E. Cole took active part in the meeting.

poins and exercise their franchise or

only party that has stood in the past for our manhood rights.
I am yours for the race that seeks an equal chance in the battle of life.
Kansas City, Kan. J. R. RANSOM.

Houston, Tex

Chronicle

25 October 1914

COLORED VOTERS TO BE GIVEN FREE CHANNEL TRIP

For the benefit of the colored voters of Houston the Chamber of Commerce will run two free excursions down the ship channel Tuesday, October 27, the day before the bond election.

As on former occasions the boat will leave the wharf of the Texas Company at Harrisburg at 10 a. m. and at 3 p. m., returning two hours later. The trips will each require two hours, running from the starting point to the truding basin, thence to the mouth of Green's Bayou and return.

Tickets may be had at the Chamber of Commerce Monday for the trip.

The boat used will be the twin-screw yacht Nichalous and 225 voters will be accommodated each trip. Passage will be only by ticket, which must be secured in advance from the Chamber of Commerce.

OCT 23 1914

Association Does Not Pledge Its Support to Any Candidate

At the meeting of the Negro Tax-payers' and Voters' Association last night held at Friendship Baptist church quite an enthusiastic crowd was present. The meeting was supposed to have been held at Garfield school building but owing to some unaccountable misunderstanding the school was not opened. The association heartily endorsed the dry movement and pledged its support.

The association is non-partisan and in no way did it pledge its support as a body to any candidate or party. In the near future a mass meeting is to be arranged at which time instruction concerning amendments which are to be voted upon will be given.

Special civilian guards have been employed by the authorities of Fort Leavenworth to prevent "spooning"

within the barracks limits. This has caused a furore among the hundreds of young women who are employed or live at the garrison.